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EDITORIAL

ONE OF THE MAJOR UNFINISHED TASKS OF ANABAPTIST RE-search is the clarifying of relationships between the various groups of Anabaptists in different regions in Switzerland, South Germany, and the Hapsburg lands of Austria, Moravia, etc., as well as distinguishing the positions of the various Anabaptist leaders and their relation to the total movement. Here two extremes of understanding may be noted. The one is represented by Bullinger and others who report literally dozens of groups and give the impression of an atomized movement with little or no unity. The other is more common among earlier in-group writers who thought of all peaceful Anabaptists as one unified group with practically no differences among them. In the light of current research both positions are untenable, although the second is far more nearly right than the first. The difficult conditions of repression and persecution under which the movement suffered from the very beginning, as well as its rapid spread, may well account for the lack of absolute unity in even peaceful Anabaptism in its first quarter century.

But that there were occasionally some substantial theological and ethical differences within the general Anabaptist fold is clearly shown in the case of Balthasar Hubmaier. John Howard Yoder, in his thorough and detailed study of Hubmaier and the beginnings of Swiss Anabaptism in this issue, proves beyond doubt that Hubmaier was not substantially connected with the origins of Anabaptism in Switzerland, and that he really represents a sort of "state church Anbaptism," to use Yoder's term. This latter fact was evident in his Nikolsburg work in 1526-1528; but Yoder shows that he held this position from the beginning in Waldshut. He thus had little or no significance for ongoing Anabaptism, since his Nikolsburg group soon died out after his arrest and execution in 1528, and none of the other Anabaptists followed his lead. On a few points Peter Riedemann has been shown to have used Hubmaier's writings, but he eschewed completely Hubmaier's non-Anabaptist ideas of a state church and taking the sword in defensive war.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF TWO FURTHER WRITINGS OF PILGRAM Marpeck as reported in William Klassen's article on "Pilgram Marpeck's Two Books of 1531" is a striking and significant achievement. This discovery extends substantially our knowledge not only of Marpeck but also of the Strasbourg Anabaptists in a crucial period of the history of the movement. Particularly important is the demonstration that the booklets represent a clear separation of the true Anabaptists from the Spiritualists. There is some prospect of the publication of the two booklets in facsimile by the Mennonite Historical Society at an early date.

THE SUBSTANTIAL ARTICLE ON LEONHARD SCHIEMER AND Hans Schlaffer by Robert Friedmann moves the frontier of Anabaptist research another substantial step forward. These two striking martyr-apostles of Tyrolean Anabaptism in 1528 exerted without doubt a strong influence through their writings, in spite of the brevity of the period of work between their espousal of Anabaptism and their execution. Such inspiring characters and careers are a bright light in Tyrolean Reformation history.

THE REPORTS BY GERHARD HEIN AND HANS HILLERBRAND on Anabaptists in Frankfort on the Main" and "Remarkable Interdependencies Between Certain Anabaptist Doctrinal Writings" bring new significant material and viewpoints. The note, "An Invitation to an Anabaptist Service in Strasbourg in 1539," with its direct quotation from an Anabaptist meeting announcement, conveys a vivid sense of real life, an echo directly from Anabaptist hearts.

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BALTHASAR HUBMAIER AND THE BEGINNINGS OF SWISS ANABAPTISM

JOHN HOWARD YODER*

As the only trained theologian and the most prolific author among the first leaders of the Swiss-South German Anabaptist movement, Doctor Balthasar Hubmaier has long been a central figure in the historical treatment, long before Conrad Grebel, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler, or Pilgram Marpeck. Since, however, recent research has reconstructed a quite complete understanding of the birth of Anabaptism in Zürich, a story in which Hubmaier seems to have played no essential part, little has been done to explain his relationship to these beginnings. The following pages, a translation and adaption of three sections of the writer's doctoral thesis,[1] attempt to throw some light on this question.

Formerly Prorektor in the University of Ingolstadt, then Cathedral Preacher in Regensburg, where he instigated anti-Jewish violence and founded a chapel for pilgrimages in honor of the Virgin Mary on the site of the destroyed synagogue, then Reformer in Waldshut beginning 1522, Balthasar Hubmaier, Doctor of Theology, had no connection with Conrad Grebel in 1523 other than that both were ardent Zwinglians. Hubmaier was present at the Second Disputation in Zürich in late October of 1523. At Grebel's request he spoke against certain abuses in the observance of the Mass (Latin language, withholding the cup), but he showed no interest in the

* John H. Yoder is Instructor in Theology in the Goshen College Biblical Seminary.

1 *Die Gespräche zwischen Täufern und Reformatoren in der Schweiz, 1523-1538* (Karlsruhe, 1959), a dissertation submitted to the Theological Faculty of the University of Basel. Not all matters of technical detail will be reproduced in this adaptation.

problem raised by Grebel and Simon Stumpf, that of the proper procedure and authority for carrying out the reformation. Late in 1523 he designated himself in his *Theses against Johann Eck* as "a brother of Ulrich Zwingli."[2] He was the first to give voice to Zwinglian (i.e., pro-Reformation) sentiments in St. Gall and Appenzell.[3]

Late in 1524 Hubmaier began to doubt the rightness of infant baptism. This doubt is, however, not an indication of direct contact between Hubmaier and the Zürich circle of "radicals." Later he testified that he had received his views on the subject from Zwingli and from Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen.[4] In a letter, which unfortunately bears no date but probably was written late in 1524, he repeated an earlier request that Zwingli respond "for God's sake" to his questions on baptism.[5]

In January 1525 Hubmaier wrote to Johannes Oecolampadius, the Reformer of Basel, that he had come to reject infant baptism;[6] nevertheless, he still felt himself to be a member in good standing of the circle of recognized Reformers. According to this letter Hubmaier was still willing to baptize infants if their parents were so "weak in the faith" as to request it. He was aware that Zürich was planning a debate on the subject, but showed no awareness that a group of men had been forming there who took the question so seriously that its leaders had withdrawn their allegiance from Zwingli and were seriously expecting persecution. When Conrad Grebel wrote to his brother-in-law Joachim von Watt on January 14 that Hubmaier would probably not be coming to the debate on the 17th because he was "against Zwingli as far as baptism is concerned," there is no indication that their both being "against Zwingli" had brought Grebel and Hubmaier closer to one another.[7]

On February 2, 1525, Hubmaier published his *Public Challenge to all Christian Believers,* an invitation to a disputation, largely on baptism, to be held in Waldshut.[8] Though convinced "that infant bap-

2 Since the works of Hubmaier have been listed in detail with full bibliographical data and short extracts, by Carl Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1941; No. XX in Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche), it will suffice here to cite Hubmaier's works by title. Hubmaier's writings are also summarized extensively by Loserth in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II, 826 ff.

3 Johannes Kessler, *Sabbata,* edited by Emil Egli and Rudolf Schoch (St. Gall, 1902) 106.

4 Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz,* Vol. I: *Zürich* (Zürich, 1952; hereafter referred to under the abbreviation *vMS)* No. 179, pp. 194 f.

5 *Ulrich Zwinglis sämtliche Werke* (hereafter cited as *ZwW)* VIII, No. 353, p. 344. This letter, like that of Jan. 16, 1525 to Oecolampadius, testifies to a sharp exchange of views between Hubmaier, Zwingli, and Leo Jud.

6 The exchange of letters between Hubmaier and Oecolampadius is reproduced in Ernst Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* I (Leipzig, 1927) Nos. 238-240 and 243, pp. 341-345, 355 ff. Staehelin also gives a brief summary of their content in his *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig, 1939) p. 379.

7 *vMS,* No. 23, pp. 33 f.

8 Research on Hubmaier has generally supposed that the challenge to a disputation

tism is a work without any foundation in the Divine Word," Hubmaier had not yet come to the corollary of believers' baptism, even though the first baptisms in Zürich had taken place two weeks earlier. Hubmaier was not ignorant of the events in Zürich; he had been visited late in January by some of the Zürich leaders, presumably Reublin, Grebel, and Brötli.[9] This indicates that, in full awareness of the issues involved, Hubmaier had refused to join the Brethren. He had not made with them the long pilgrimage in which they had been engaged since 1523. The rejection of state authority in matters of faith (October-December 1523), the understanding that the true church must be a persecuted minority (spring and summer of 1524), the rejection of Thomas Müntzer's gospel of revolution (September 1524), and the repeated unsuccessful attempts to carry on a conversation with Zwingli (ending in mid-December 1524), had all gone on outside the realm of his interest and knowledge. This difference of orientation remained significant even after he finally had accepted believer's baptism. Precisely because he came to the problem of baptism as a trained thinker dealing with a theological problem as such, he was ever to remain distinct in his emphasis from the Swiss Brethren, for whom believers' baptism was only one expression of a whole new way of understanding faith and the church.

In his January (1525) letter to Oecolampadius[10] Hubmaier followed Carlstadt in rethinking the sacraments, including baptism. From the "Word of Institution" in Matt. 28:19 he concluded that children should not be baptized and that it is a dishonoring of the sacrament to retain infant baptism on the grounds that it is only "an empty sign" anyway.[11] Baptism in God's Name is God's own promise to give life to the believer on the grounds of his faith; such a sign cannot be thrown around arbitrarily as if it were "empty." Hubmaier closed his letter with a request for further instruction from Oecolampadius.

The Basel Reformer answered immediately, basing his argument on the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. If the children of Christians could not be saved because baptism, which cleanses from original sin, were refused them, they would be worse off than the Jewish children under the old covenant. Some children (Jeremiah,

in Waldshut was a purely rhetorical form. That the debate actually took place is proved by a letter which the city of Waldshut wrote to Strasbourg in 1528, found in Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* IV, *Baden und Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951) No. 383, p. 391 (brought to my attention by Dr. Jean Rott).

9 Joh. Strickler, *Actensammlung zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-1532* I (Zürich, 1878) No. 985, p. 336.

10 January 16, 1525 (cf. note 6 above).

11 "They say baptism is an empty sigh." Hubmaier is undoubtedly referring to the Zürich reformers with whom he had recently debated the question (cf. note 5 above).

John the Baptist) were already sanctified in the mother's womb. Thus there was no reason to refuse them baptism, though Oecolampadius granted that there is no positive biblical basis for the practice. If it should turn out when these baptized children were grown that they were unbelievers they could always be excommunicated.

None of these arguments had met Hubmaier's main point, namely, his appeal to the wording of the Great Commission, in which the command to baptize follows the command to evangelize. This argument must have impressed Oecolampadius by its logical clarity, for he wrote to Zwingli on the same day to ask for further advice.[12] Zwingli's answer has not been preserved, but he must have approved the approach Oecolampadius had proposed, for Oecolampadius wrote a second letter to Hubmaier in which the arguments of his first letter were used. He attempted here to demonstrate that the words of institution should not be taken too seriously, appealing to the example of the apostles, who baptized without using the trinitarian formula which is commanded in Matt. 28. Even in the case of adults one could never know who were the true believers. As in the old covenant, so also in the new, children were carried along on the confession of their parents; God would not be offended if they were given the sign of this relationship. Nevertheless Oecolampadius approved fully of Hubmaier's practice of baptizing only those infants whose parents demanded it, replacing baptism for the others by a consecration service: "may it be acceptable to everyone."[13] This makes it clear that Oecolampadius's defense of infant baptism, in spite of the wealth of argument, must not be understood to mean that he held it to be unconditionally right; he wanted only to insure that it would not be unconditionally forbidden. Except for the belief in original sin and its removal by baptism, this was to remain his position; too much a spiritualist to consider baptism (of either children or adults) a theological necessity, he held to infant baptism for reasons of a social and strategic nature.

Thus Oecolampadius's answer was essentially an affirmative one. He admitted that infant baptism is not commanded in Scripture, and Hubmaier was still ready to baptize in some cases. Hubmaier understood the letter in this way. Nearly three years later as he was questioned, before his execution, by Johannes Faber, the Catholic expert in anti-Protestant polemics, Hubmaier still testified, "Oecolampadius was the first to subscribe in his own hand to my theses on infant

12 Zwingli must have written Oecolampadius earlier on the same question: cf. *ZwW* VIII, No. 359, p. 292, line 14 and note 3.

13 Staehelin, *Briefe* (cf. note 6 above) No. 243, p. 356, line 6.

baptism."[14] Whether this statement refers to the letter just cited or to a no longer extant response by Oecolampadius to the "Public Challenge" (which was mainly a list of theses) is immaterial. The publication of the "Public Challenge" may in fact have been a direct response to Oecolampadius's encouraging letter.

It was in April 1525 that Hubmaier finally received baptism. Wilhelm Reublin, one of the men whose banishment from Zürich in January had led indirectly to the institution of believers' baptism, was active in the Klettgau, the area between Waldshut and Schaffhausen. Working from that base he was able to win some residents of Waldshut to his views. It was these persons, already baptized, who came to Hubmaier, asking "why he did not also join the cause. He turned them down, and let the matter ride until Easter. . . ."[15] At that time Hubmaier and approximately three hundred members of his church were baptized, and on Easter Monday they celebrated the Lord's Supper using ordinary "house bread." Hubmaier's initial negative response to Reublin's converts demonstrates once again that he was no special friend of the Zürich "radicals." Even after his baptism we hear surprisingly little about contacts between him and the Zürich leaders.

Hubmaier's first public testimony to his new views was the pamphlet *On the Christian Baptism of Believers.* On July 10, 1525, he wrote to the Zürich Council that he had read Zwingli's *On Baptism, Rebaptism, and Infant Baptism* and was himself in the process of writing on the subject.[16] However, in order to avoid contention and scandal, he requested first that a disputation between himself and Zwingli be called, in the confidence that they would soon come to an agreement. "I hope before God that we shall soon be of one accord (if we are together personally), for my desire is to submit in every way to the bright and clear Word of God."

This overture received no answer. Hubmaier's booklet was published with a foreword dated July 11, and immediately was known everywhere. The work demonstrates how Hubmaier combined a theological education with the gift of popularization. Clearly outlined, with a careful development of its arguments, it is a minor masterpiece standing in sharp contract to the disorderly construction of Zwingli's writings. Althought he was acquainted with Zwingli's booklet[17] of the preceding May, Hubmaier was not interested in

14 *Ibid.* II (Leipzig, 1934) No. 582, pp. 191 ff.
15 *vMS,* No. 404 pp. 391 ff.
16 *Ibid.,* No. 82, pp. 87 ff
17 *On Baptism, on Rebaptism, and on Infant Baptism, ZwW* IV, pp. 188 ff., commonly referred to by Zwingli simply as "The Baptism Booklet" (*Taufbüchlein*).

direct polemics. Only the introduction and conclusion deal with arguments against believers' baptism and even there Zwingli is not named. His intention was to offer "to all believers" a constructive exposition of his own position.

Having defined baptism as fundamentally a confession, Hubmaier shows that the baptism of John cannot be identified with Christian baptism as Zwingli claimed. John the Baptist did not speak of forgiveness and new life, but only of judgment and moral renewal on the level of the Law. This is why the Great Commission of the risen Lord is the "Institution" of Christian baptism (the position already taken in the letter of the previous January to Oecolampadius). Next an analysis of the practice of the apostolic church (as well as that of John the Baptist, even though his baptism had a different meaning) confirms that baptism always follows a confession of faith and then in its turn is followed by good works. Occasional rebuttal of Zwinglian arguments occurs only on the margin of this entire exposition.

Zwingli obtained a copy of the booklet through Oecolampadius and soon acceded to the Basel Reformer's request for a reply. His *Answer to Balthasar Hubmaier* was published on November 5, 1525.[18] This writing is not understandable without Hubmaier's booklet, from which isolated sentences are cited and rebutted without any overall plan. As far as content is concerned Zwingli seldom says more than in his earlier writing. He repeats his complaint about the "Rottierung" of the Anabaptists (i.e., their gathering in small groups). When Hubmaier declares repeatedly that he is willing to be shown the error of his position, Zwingli objects that the Zürich Anabaptists did not lay their new doctrines before the Church.[19] Hubmaier himself had also behaved insubordinately when he renounced the prebend which had supported him at Waldshut and had himself re-elected by the congregation of baptized believers.[20]

Hubmaier had not dealt with the two major theses of Zwingli's earlier pamphlet, namely the double meaning of baptism and the

18 *ZwW* IV, No. 68, pp. 577 ff.

19 The wrongness of infant baptism had been debated repeatedly in Zürich, always at the initiative of Conrad Grebel and his friends, until first Zwingli in mid-December 1524 and then the Council a month later broke off the conversations. On the other hand the corollary conviction, that if infant baptism is not valid then believers should be ("re"-)baptized, seems not to have arisen even in the minds of Grebel's group until the very night of January 21, 1525, when it was first put into practice. They could not "lay before the church" (i.e., before the Zürich state authorities) this conviction for fraternal evaluation, because that "church" had already broken off conversation with them and begun to persecute them.

20 This attack adds an otherwise undocumented but quite believable detail to Hubmaier's biography. The transition from the Catholic to the Anabaptist order expressed in this resignation and reinstatement can only have taken place after Easter of 1525. In reprimanding Hubmaier for this procedure Zwingli seems to forget that he had done the same thing in November 1522.

unity of the Testaments. Zwingli needed therefore only to repeat them. Only at two points did his *Answer* cover new ground: first with the claim that the baptismal practice of the early church has no normative value, since the New Testament describes it in narrative form, not as a command; and secondly in affirming that the faith which is prerequisite to baptism is not that of the baptized but the objective confessional status of the congregation, namely the Apostles' Creed, which in the 16th century was popularly referred to as "The Faith." Necessary for baptism is not that the candidate, or the parents, or the godparents, or the congregation should believe; what is necessary is the thing believed, the truth of the Gospel, which stands true and complete before God even if no one on earth should believe it.

Thanks to its clarity, its unassuming and unpolemic expository nature, and its unity, Hubmaier's booklet had the broader effect of the two. Berchtold Haller of Bern wrote to Zwingli, as he thanked him for a copy of the *Answer,* "Balthasar's clear exposition of the Scripture is misleading many."[21]

During the remainder of 1525 Hubmaier was working on at least two additional manuscripts, both of an expressly polemic nature. The first attacked Zwingli's *On Baptism, Rebaptism, and Infant Baptism* of the preceding May by refuting its key sentences one by one. This is basically the procedure followed by Zwingli in his *Answer,* but by quoting Zwingli in full, by using a format appropriate to dialogue, and by answering much more briefly, Hubmaier made of it a very effective polemic tool. This writing, however, does not belong strictly in the scope of our discussion since, although written in 1525, it was not published until 1526 when Hubmaier had left Switzerland never to return. The same is the case for the other text, which refutes in the same manner Oecolampadius's *Gesprech etlicher Predicanten . . .* of August 1525.

The final chapter in Hubmaier's relations with Zürich began when he entered the city as a refugee. Waldshut, though strongly under Swiss influence, belonged to Austria. Besieged by the imperial army of Catholic Austria because it had accepted the Reformation, cut off at the same time from the help it might have received from the Reformed cities of Switzerland had it not followed Hubmaier all the way to believers' baptism, the city fell on December 6, 1525, a day after Hubmaier had fled. Arriving at Zürich, he was taken into a kind of protective custody, as the Council hesitated to answer a demand for extradition submitted by Austria on December 14.

21 *ZwW* VIII, No. 414, p. 440, Nov. 29, 1525

Hubmaier renewed at this time his request for a debate with Zwingli. His intention was probably, as it had been when under similar circumstances in Schaffhausen a year earlier he had demanded a hearing from the entire Swiss Confederacy, to assure himself of the protection of the authorities by demonstrating his orthodoxy. The Council accepted the suggestion and a meeting was held between the two men in the presence of a dozen preachers and teachers and four delegates of the Council, on December 19, 1525.[22] For reasons which we shall examine shortly, Hubmaier was found willing to recant. He did this formally before the "Small Council" (a sort of Executive Committee of the City Council) on December 22 and before the entire Council of Two Hundred the following day.[23] There it was decided that the recantation should be read in public in the Fraumünster after Zwingli's sermon on the following Friday, December 29, and then also in Grüningen.[24]

But the Council was to be disappointed. As soon as he found himself in the pulpit Hubmaier began to defend his rejection of infant baptism. "O what strife and testing I suffered last night because of this matter! Now I here declare, I can and will not recant."[25] "Zwingli entered the other pulpit (for there were two at the time), stilled the people (who were beginning to murmur) and said he had feared that this evil spirit would break loose again this way. And after considerable argument addressed to the doctor [Hubmaier], the doctor answered that he wished to remain faithful to God (meaning to his rebaptism), which he ought to have a right to do."[26]

Hubmaier was consequently led off to the Wellenberg, a prison which stood on a rock in the middle of the Limmat. What had been protective custody had now become quite a different matter, and the Council rejected Austria's extradition request because Hubmaier was being held for an offense committed in Zürich.[27] Torture,[28] a long delay, and repeated requests from Zwingli were needed before the Council could be convinced of the sincerity of Hubmaier's second recantation to the point of risking another public appearance. Hub-

22 The earliest report on this meeting is a letter from Georg Binder, who left in fact before it was over. *Die Vadianische Briefsammlung* III (St. Gall, 1897) No. 437, p. 127

23 *ZwW* VIII, No. 427, p. 470.

24 *vMS*, No. 157, note 1, arrives at the date of January 5 by following the unreliable chronology of a letter Zwingli wrote seven months later. That only December 29 can come into question is shown by a letter from Zwingli written January 1, 1526 (*ZwW* VIII, No. 434, p. 487 f.), which *vMS* seem not to have noticed.

25 Kessler, *op. cit*, p. 151.

26 Johannes Stumpf's *Schweizer- und Reformationschronik* I, edited by E. Gagliardi *et al.* (Basel, 1953) p. 290 f. Stumpf offers more detail than his source, Bluntschi (unpublished manuscript *Chronik* of Fridli Bluntschi, made available in a typed copy by Dr. Heinold Fast). Whether the additions are imaginative or based on some other source we cannot tell.

27 *VMS*, No. 402 f., pp. 309 f.

28 *ZwW* VIII, p. 488, line 10.

maier read his second document three times in mid-April,[29] after which he was secretly led to the Austrian border, whence he made his way to Moravia via Augsburg without encountering the imperial police. In both Augsburg and Nikolsburg Hubmaier was the first to administer believers' baptism. In Augsburg he baptized Hans Denck. In Nikolsburg he won the support of the local prince and for the second time in his brief career became the head of an Anabaptist state church.

The primary problem presented by this series of events is the interpretation of Hubmaier's vacillation under pressure; first so sufficiently self-confident that he asked for a debate, then recanting, withdrawing his recantation, recanting again, and finally reverting again to his original beliefs as soon as he reached Augsburg. Were his convictions actually fluid to that degree? Was he simply a coward? Or is there some less simple explanation which fits the facts more closely?

The major themes of the conversation of December 19 can be reconstructed with relative certainty by comparison of several epistolary reports.[30] Hubmaier began with the claim that Zwingli himself had rejected infant baptism in the 18th and 67th of his Theses (*Schlussreden*) of January 1523. There Zwingli had recognized that infant baptism had in earlier times not been the predominant practice of the church. He had, however, not drawn the conclusion that believers' baptism should be restored, but had rather proposed a sort of confirmation instruction to replace the lost factors of instruction and conscious assent. Hubmaier was forced to admit having misunderstood.

The next major problem was the relationship of the Old and the New Covenants. This was a theme with which Hubmaier had not yet busied himself in his own studies. Zwingli had always argued that there is but one eternal covenant in both Testaments, so that baptism and circumcision are identical. Hubmaier appears to have had no answer to this argument; he cites this identity of baptism and circumcision in his recantation as the first reason for his change of mind.

Yet this argument in itself would not have sufficed. More im-

29 (No. 179, notes 9 f. pp, 196 f.) Heinrich Bullinger (*Reformationsgeschichte* I, Frauenfeld 1838, p. 305) and Bluntschi (cf. note 26 above) disagree on the date, place, and number of readings.

30 Letter of Georg Binder to Vadian (note 22 above); Zwingli to Vadian (*ZwW* VIII, No. 427, p. 407, December 23, 1525); Zwingli to Capito (*ibid.*, No. 434, p. 487, January 1, 1526); Zwingli to Peter Gynoraeus (*ibid.*, No. 524, p. 700, August 31, 1526). The letter to Gynoraeus was printed in pamphlet form as a reply to reports, which had been spread in Augsburg, presumably by Hubmaier himself, that Hubmaier had been tortured. The letter argues that in general Hubmaier had been treated better than he deserved, but neither admits nor denies that he had been tortured. The letter to Capito had reported the torture.

portant was a smaller meeting which Hubmaier requested, and which was granted him, with Zwingli's three principal assistants, Leo Jud, Oswald Myconius, and Sebastian Hofmeister. The councilmen, Zwingli, and the other observers withdrew, leaving these four to continue the discussion. The decisive turn came when the three showed Hubmaier "how love should be the only judge and umpire in [the interpretation of] all Scripture. And so I have meditated long on love and have finally been moved ...." This critical sentence of the recantation is significant primarily for what it does not say. "Love" had intrinsically nothing to say about whether to baptize children. That love should be the only judge is at first glance no help at all with Hubmaier's problem. But in the experience of the three men it had a very clear relevance. All three had shared Zwingli's earlier doubts about infant baptism.[31] "Love" for them had meant very concretely that in spite of their lack of conviction they had bowed to the interest of the church. Unconvinced by Zwingli's arguments, they remained loyal to his person and his cause, for the sake of the peace and unity of Christian Zürich. They invited Hubmaier to a similar capitulation, and further meditation on "love" made it possible for him, without abandoning his earlier view of baptism, to write the recantation that would open the way for him to work with them in Zürich.

Although earlier research has not raised the question, the hypothesis that Hubmaier's recantation may have had the intent of obtaining employment in Zürich is more than probable. Zwingli wrote that the Council only required a recantation because Hubmaier wanted to stay in Zürich.[32] The only penalty for stubborn Anabaptists at this time was exile; if Hubmaier as a foreigner had declared himself willing to leave the city and canton, that would have been sufficient to free him immediately. Recanting was necessary only if he wanted to remain in the city, at least in protective custody, if not permanently. Just a short time earlier Sebastian Hofmeister had been expelled from Schaffhausen, and had immediately found a post in Zürich, so that he was present in the meeting with Hubmaier. The Doctor from Waldshut, who just a year earlier had been proud to refer to himself as "a brother of Ulrich Zwingli," now separated from his former close friend only by the question of baptism, could count on speedy acceptance if he could change his views at this one point. In fact the Council was already projecting for him

31 For testimonies to the general low regard of the Reformers for infant baptism up until the end of 1524, cf. H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* pp. 125 ff. Regarding Hofmeister, *vMS*, No. 179, p. 195; for Jud, *ibid.*, No. 121, p. 123.

32 *ZwW* VIII, p. 704, line 24

an assignment in the campaign against Anabaptism. Bailiff Georg Berger of Grüningen, the section of the canton's countryside most affected by Anabaptism, was asked[33] in what places in Grüningen Hubmaier should read his recantation. Normally an Anabaptist who recanted was obliged to make public confession twice, once in Zürich and once in his home village or the place of his crime or his arrest. Hubmaier had never been in Grüningen. In planning to send him there the Council was not following its normal procedure for recantations but rather was using Hubmaier, author of the only Anabaptist tract yet produced, as a counter-propagandist at the place where Anabaptism was the most powerful. After his second recantation Hubmaier was sent to visit some Anabaptist women in prison but was unable to convert them.[34]

Now that the hypothesis that Hubmaier's recanting may have been motivated by a conscious wish to reconcile himself with Zwingli has taken on some body, it is quite understandable that Hubmaier should have desired to ease the adjustment by asking for a private session with Zwingli's three aides. George Binder, whose letter to Joachim von Watt is our earliest report of the meeting of December 19, was one of those who withdrew in order to leave Hubmaier with the three. Already then Binder had understood what Hubmaier was driving at. "Afterwards he asked that Leo, Myconius, and Sebastian should cut through certain knots and difficulties in which he was still caught, in order to weigh in unforced agreement what can be said, whatever there might be either to say or to retract. He seemed to be alluding strongly to [the possibility of] a retraction."[35]

Having attempted to explain Hubmaier's disavowal of his Anabaptist convictions, we must turn to the problem of his relapse on December 29. At this point his own explanations abound. He said afterwards that he had become excited, imagining that the Austrians who had demanded his extradition were at the door of the church, and, driven by some sort of associative impulse, had grasped for a set of notes he had prepared for his defense while still in Waldshut facing the danger of capture by the Austrians.[36] Or he explained that God wanted to test him. Or again, that "he doesn't know how it happened, . . . no one encouraged him, he did it of himself."[37] The

33 *vMS*, No. 149, p. 150 (This letter should be dated December 23-28 instead of 27-30. Cf. note 24 above.)

34 Fridli Bluntschi's *Chronik*, typescript copy by H. Fast, p. 6.

35 *Vadianische Briefsammlung* III, p. 128

36 *vMS*, No. 404, p. 393

37 These explanations are offered one after another in Hubmaier's testimony; *vMS*, No. 179, p. 195.

Devil did it.[38] It is the overabundance of these explanations, not all reconcilable with one another, which Hubmaier thought of later when trying to disavow his relapse and portray it as not being an act of his real self, which drives us to suspect that the real Hubmaier was after all and in spite of all the explanations the one who, after a period of weakness, had pulled himself together long enough to retract his earlier opportunistic recantation and once again defend believers' baptism. This could be inferred from his reference (already cited above) to the "strife and testing I suffered last night." It was also Zwingli's view of the matter.[39] Hubmaier further referred in a later hearing to a letter he had received from some members of his Waldshut church who had taken refuge in Constance and admonished him that "he should be patient and joyful, for God will help him in His own time."[40] Myconius reported still another parallel explanation: in the sermon which he preached before Hubmaier was to recant Zwingli had praised the virtue of constancy. Hubmaier was moved thereby to be firm and constant in his (Anabaptist) faith.[41] We are thus fully authorized by the documents dealing with the December 1525 events to conclude what was to be confirmed after Hubmaier's arrival in Moravia: the man who recanted, in December and again in April, was not the real Hubmaier.

Before his release in April Hubmaier wrote what Zwingli called a "new recantation" (*nova revocatio*). On March 5, 1526, he had said in a hearing that he was willing to "hold his peace" on the baptism question and wanted to write a statement on "government, interest, tithes, and community [of goods]."[42] It is striking that the emphasis falls on the questions of a political and economic nature, in which Hubmaier had always differed from the Swiss Brethren and agreed with Zwingli and the Zürich authorities. His first recantation had also dealt with these questions. Concerning baptism he does not say he has changed his mind but only that he will cause no trouble. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote the booklet, *The Twelve Articles of the Christian Creed Cast in the Form of a Prayer in the Wasserthurm in Zürich,* which was printed later in

38 *vMS,* No. 404, p. 392

39 ". . . although M[aster] Ulrich said that he did not trust him at all . . ." (Heinrich Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte* I p. 304). Cf. also Zwingli's words, "He had feared that this evil spirit would break loose again," cited above.

40 *vMS,* 404, p. 392

41 *Myconius' Vita Zwinglii,* printed in *Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte* I (1813), fascicle 2, p. 19; and p. 35, note 12

42 *vMS,* No. 170, p. 175. The difference between Hubmaier and the original Zürich leaders is especially visible here. In the same hearing in which Hubmaier emphasized his willingness to recant, Grebel, Manz and Blaurock testified that they were remaining firm in their convictions.

Nikolsburg. Here again it is clear that he felt his own retractions to be only a temporary setback of a just and triumphant cause.

> O my Lord Jesus Christ, restore the two bands with which Thou hast girded Thy Bride, namely water baptism and the Supper. If these two elements are not restored in conformity with Thy institution and ordinance, there will be neither faith nor love among us. . . . That is my belief, which I confess with heart and mouth and which I have confessed publicly before the Church in water baptism. And even if through the fear of men and through timidity, through tyranny, torture, sword, fire or water, I am driven away therefrom, still I cry to Thee, Merciful Father, raise me up again and do not let me leave the world without this faith.[43]

Balthasar Hubmaier differed from the Zürich Anabaptists not in the content of his conviction but in its depth. Coming to his antipedobaptist convictions as a theologian, he was the century's best spokesman for that position; but without having founded his commitment either in the experience of becoming a church, which the Zürich circle had come through, or in a general view of the church's relation to the political and economic order, he was not ready as were they for "tyranny, torture, sword, fire, or water." After reaching asylum in Nikolsburg he referred to the Zürich brethren as his "fellows in persecution" and as "righteous people,"[44] but he had never really joined their number. Until his death he continued to follow the Reformers rather than the Brethren in letting the state be master in its own home even if it demanded of Christians that they disobey biblical injunctions (oath, armed defense, interest, defense of the property structure), as well as when it chose to reform the church. That the state which affirms its gracious willingness to reform the church thereby also lays claim to a right to direct, brake, or even halt and reverse the Reformation, is a truth which had become part of the basic spiritual orientation of the Zürich Brethren by 1523,[45] even before baptism became any issue, but which Hubmaier never learned.

43 *Die Zwelf Artickel Christenlichs glaubens . . .* (Nikolsburg, 1527) 11.

44 Preface to *Ein Gesprech Balthasar Huebmörs von Fridberg Doctors, auf Mayster Ulrichs Zwinglens zu Zürich Tauffbüchlen* (Nikolsburg, 1526) fol. iij. This preface attacks Zwingli severely for his part in the persecution of the Anabaptists, making no reference at all to Hubmaier's own weakness in the face of that persecution.

45 See my article, "The Turning point in the Zürich Reformation," *MQR* XXXII (1958) 128 ff.

PILGRAM MARPECK'S TWO BOOKS OF 1531

WILLIAM KLASSEN*

The Strasbourg censors Christian Herlin and Jacob Bedrotus in their report of 1531 listed "Also two booklets written in the German language (they say Pilgram is the author) contain Anabaptist doctrine; namely, that baptism is not to be conferred except on believers. The same author of the booklet adds that he himself had received baptism because it was thus written, etc."[1] The censors comment that they do not recommend these books to be sold to the public.

It is generally supposed that neither of these booklets is extant.[2] Through a marginal reference in the *Thesaurus Baumianus* it has come to be assumed that a book by Marpeck perished in the Strasbourg fire of 1870, but that Baum preserved at least the title for posterity. The Dutch historian Hulshof is responsible for the conjecture that the book referred to by Baum may be one of the Marpeck booklets of 1531,[3] a conjecture based on a statement Baum attributes to Schwenckfeld. Nicoladoni, the only other historian apparently, besides Baum, who knew of the book, ascribed it to an Anabaptist "of Biblical type" (*biblischer Richtung*) on the basis of the title.[4]

A vain attempt was made during the past year by the present writer to locate a copy of this book in continental European libraries. The director of the University Library at the Freie Universität Berlin, Prof. Dr. Wieland Schmidt, then kindly supplied the information that there is a copy in the British Museum, which is apparently the only copy extant. The exact title is: *Ain klarer vast nützlicher vnterricht| wider ettliche Trück| vnd schleichendt Geyster| so jetz in verborgener weisz auszgeen| dadurch viel frommer hertzen verirrt vnd verfurt werden| kürtzlich| getrewer warnung wi esz herfür gebracht.*

On the title page there appears also a table of contents as follows:

i Concerning the Apostle Office (Betreffendt das Apostelampt)

ii The Bishop Office (Das Bischoff ampt)

* William Klassen is Instructor in New Testament at the Mennonite Biblical Seminary, Elkhart, Ind.

1 "Duo etiam libelli germanica lingua scripti (Pilgerinum autorem ferunt) Anabaptistarum dogmata continent, nempe quod credentibus tantum baptismus sit conferendus. Addit idem libelli autor, se ideo baptismum recepisse, quod ita scriptum etc." Printed by T. W. Röhrich, "Zur Geschichte der strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in den Jahren 1527 bis 1543," *Zeitschrift f. historische Theologie*, 1860, 52.

2 The latest full treatment of Pilgram Marpeck's life, writings, and theology, by Jan J. Kiwiet, *Pilgram Marbeck* (Kassel: Oncken Verlag, 1957) 50, simply repeats the assertions of former scholars.

3 Abraham Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg van 1525 tot 1557* (Amsterdam, 1905) 99.

4 Alexander Nicoladoni, *Johannes Bünderlin* (Berlin, 1893) 128.

iii The Ceremonies of Christ (Die Ceremonien Christi)
iv The Difference Between the Deity and the Humanity of Christ (Vnderschiedt der gotheyt vn menscheyt Christi)
v. The Commissioning and Word (?) of a New Prophet (Die sendung vnd wart eines newen Propheten)
vi Prayer and Good Work of Cornelius (Gebet vnd gut werck Corneli)

Beneath the table of contents appears Proverbs 21:15, the motto "Not what, but that," and the date MDXXXI.

There are a number of indications that this is one of the booklets condemned by the censors in 1531.[5] The first of these is the presence of the motto "Nit was, sonder das" just above the date on the title page. My attempts to locate and to interpret this proverb failed. It is signficant, however, that it occurs in the *Kunstbuch,* inserted there apparently by the sixteenth century editor Jörg Maler. This may indicate that some relationship exists between the booklet of 1531, *Ain klarer vast nützlicher unterricht,* and the *Kunstbuch.*[6] The fourth item in the table of contents deals with the difference between the humanity and deity of Christ. The writers of the *Verantwortung,* Leupold Scharnschlager and Pilgram Marpeck, assert that in order to maintain the true almighty God in Christ in (or with) His two united natures, "we have in times past and for several years disputed with certain spirits (who denied this doctrine)."[7] This may refer to Scharnschlager's opposition to Melchior Hofmann's Christology in 1532,[8] but it may also possibly refer to the book under discussion.

The last piece of external evidence comes again from the *Thesaurus Baumianus* where Baum wrote after the transcription of the title the following:

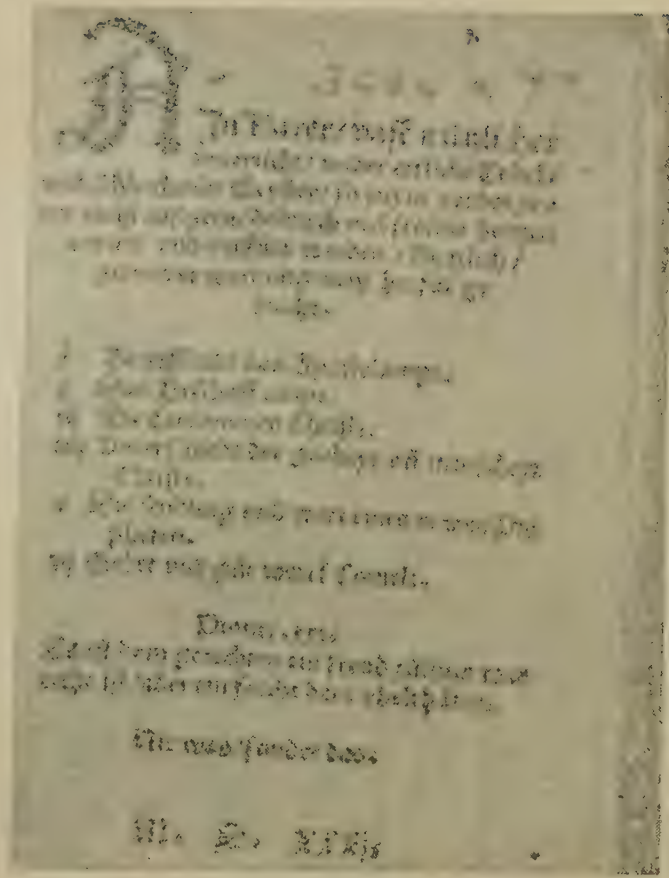
> To these last words, "Nit was, sondern das," added by a certain hand, Schwenkfeld's, as I think, I find written the following: "I say that one shall and must believe this if he wants to be saved. Thus all the

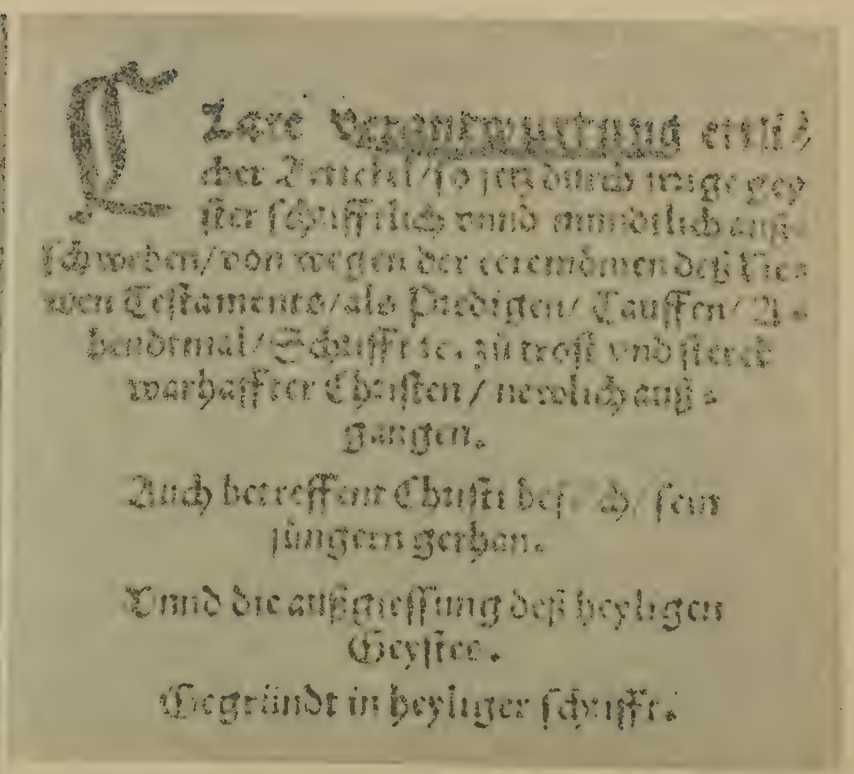
5 Kiwiet (*op. cit.,* 80) following Hulshof (*op. cit.,* 100), reasons that the description of the contents given by the censors makes it unlikely that it is to be identified with the *Klarer Unterricht* (hereafter KU). Now, of course, we can judge the book according to its contents. More work needs to be done, however, on the whole area of censorship of Anabaptist books. Is Hege's assumption correct that after a book was censored it did not circulate at all? He says relative to these books: "die aber nicht in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangten, da sie der Rat auf Antrag der Zensoren beschlagnahmen liess. Die eine Schrift ging 1871 durch den Strassburger Brand verloren." "Pilgram Marbeck . . ." *Archiv f. Reformationsgeschichte* (hereafter *ARG*) 37 (1940) 250. This hardly seems likely in the tolerant city of Strasbourg.

6 On the *Kunstbuch* (hereafter *KB),* its discovery and significance see Heinold Fast, "Pilgram Marbeck und das oberdeutsche Täufertum," *ARG* 47 (1956) 212-242. It occurs in this manuscript on fol. 12b in the introduction written by Maler.

7 Cf. J. C. Wenger, "Additional Note," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter *MQR*) XII (1938) p. 269 f. The *Verantwortung* (hereafter *V*) is published in *Quellen und Forschungen . . .* edited by Johann Loserth (Vienna and Leipzig, 1929). This statement appears on page 507, line 41 f. and was written sometime between 1544 and 1556.

8 Röhrich, *op. cit.,* 71.





Clare Verantwurtung etlicher Artickel/ so jetzundts irrige geyster schrifftlich vnnd mündtlich außschwerben/ von wegen der ceremonien deß Newen Testamentes/ als Predigen/ Tauffen/ Abendtmal/ Schrifft etc. zu trost vnd sterck warhaffter Christen/ nerolich außgangen.

Auch betreffend Christi deß Herren jüngern gethan.

Vnnd die außgiessung deß heyligen Geysts.

Gegründt in heyliger schrifft.

The facsimile of the title page of the *Clare verantwurtung* is reproduced from a microfilm of the unique copy in the Stuttgart State Library. The facsimile of the title page of *Ain klarer . . . unterricht* is reproduced from a photographic copy furnished by the British Museum from its unique copy. Complete microfilms of both booklets are to be found in the Goshen College Library.

sects are accustomed to speak—the Pope, Luther, Anabaptists—each has something external on which to base salvation, and whoever does not outwardly accept it nor believes according to their assertions must be of the devil, even though he were as pious and God-fearing as he could possibly be. Thus also does the author of this booklet; I think it was *Pilgram*. No sect is satisfied with the fear of God or with faith, although God is satisfied with it. They all hang something outward to it, each after his understanding, against the other; yea, each condemns and damns the other's understanding, having all the Scriptures for themselves."[9]

In line with this is the internal evidence of the *Klarer . . . Unterricht,* which refers often to "Stillstand" and its appeal as well as its danger.[10] The tone of the above quotation which Baum took from the copy of the *Klarer Unterricht* which he saw seems to agree with the supposition that Schwenckfeld wrote this. If this is the case, we have contemporary evidence of Marpeck's authorship. Positive proof is of course lacking. It may, however, be assumed that this book is the one referred to by Schwenckfeld when he said that the Anabaptists had published a booklet against him.[11]

The question needs yet to be raised whether there is any internal evidence of Marpeck's authorship. It is risky to compare the booklet with his writings of 1542 ff., because they were written eleven years later and always with a collaborator. Marpeck's letters and writings in the *Kunstbuch,* with one possible exception, were written after 1540, but at least here it is certain that Marpeck wrote them alone. The same is true of his confession submitted to the Strasbourg Council in early 1532.[12] Although it was drawn up in haste it is probably most suitable for literary comparison. The report of the censors stated that Marpeck asserted that baptism should be administered only to believers, and that he himself had been thus baptized. In the *Klarer Unterricht* the author makes the statement: "Yes, just for this reason that it is written did I have myself baptized."[13]

9 "Ad haec ultima verba 'Nit was s. das' manu coaeva quadam, Schwenckfeldii ut opinor, adscripta reperio quae sequuntur: 'Ich sag, das soll u. muss man glouben, will man selig werden. Also pflegen alle Secten Bapst, Luther, Teuffer zureden, hat jede etwas usserlichs daruf syn jr seeligkeit sezt, u. welcher eben dasselbig usserlich nit annimt und glaubt nach jren furgaben der muss des Teuffels seyn, ob er schon sonst so gottesforchtig u. frumm waere als er immer seyn moecht. Also thut auch der dichter dieses buechlins. Ich acht das es der *Pilgram* sey. Es lat sich kein Sect benugen an der forcht Gottes oder am glauben daran sich doch gott benugen lath. Syn hanken all etwas usserlichs dran, ein jeder nach sein verstandt, wider den anderen, verwirfft u. verdampt ja einer dem anderen sein verstandt, haben alle geschrifft für sich' " (*Thesaurus Baumianus,* Ms. 662 f. 388 verso in Bibliotheque Nationale et Universitair, Strasbourg). Cf. Hulshof, *op, cit.,* 99, ftnote 3. Dr. Jean Rott kindly supplied the present writer with a photocopy of this page.

10 *A ii verso, bis, A viii recto; C recto, Cb; C iii verso and recto; D iiii recto.*

11 September 24, 1531, in a letter to John Bader, *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* (hereafter *CS*) IV, 259:35 f.

12 Transcribed by Wenger in *MQR* XII (1938) 167-202 (hereafter *Conf.*).

13 *KU C v recto.*

Light may be thrown on the problem, both of the authorship of these two books and the location of the two books written by Marpeck in 1531, by a book that has hitherto been attributed to Hans Bünderlin. *Clare verantwurtung ettlicher Artickel/ so jetz durch jrrige geyster schrifftlich vnnd mündtlich ausschweben/ von wegen der ceremonien des Newen Testaments/ als Predigen/ Tauffen/ Abendtmal/ Schrifft,* etc. *zu trost vnd sterck warhaffter Christen/ newlich aussgangen. Auch betreffent Christi befelch, sein jungern gethan. Vnnd die aussgiessung des heyligen Geystes. Gegruendt in heyliger schrifft* (n.p., 1531).

Camille Gerbert was the first to ascribe this booklet to Hans Bünderlin, but he did so without indicating in any way that he was acquainted with the book.[14] Independently of Gerbert, Nicoladoni also ascribed it to Bünderlin, but also without showing any knowledge of its contents.[15] This lack of concrete description is surprising since Nicoladoni gives a synopsis of all of Bünderlin's other writings. What could have led the two men to assume Bünderlin's authorship of this booklet is a mystery. A comparison with any of the other three works which bear Bünderlin's name shows clearly that he could not have written the *Clare verantwurtung*, because it expresses a position diametrically opposed to his. Bünderlin's writings called for the cessation of all the church ceremonies, which were instituted in the first place, he claimed, only as concessions to the Jews.[16] A comparison of the *Clare verantwurtung* and the *Klarer Unterricht* can now be made since Hans Hillerbrand in 1956 discovered the only known copy of the *Clare verantwurtung* in the Stuttgart library.[17] A comparison of the typography shows that the same printer printed the two books. But a typographical study makes it clear that none of Bünderlin's other known works was printed by this printer.

Furthermore, the tone and style of these two writings, while not

14 C. Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit der Reformation 1524-1534* (Strassburg, 1889) 96. He states that the *Klarer Unterricht* is a "Gegenschrift" to Bünderlin's *Erklärung durch vergleichung* (1530), a suggestion which he likely took from the *Thesaurus Baumianus* III, 388 *recto*, but in doing so confused the *Clare verantwurtung* (hereafter *CV*) with the *Klarer Unterricht*, for Baum states that the former was a reply to *Erklerung durch vergleichung* (*Thes. Baum.*, f. 388 r.).

15 *Op. cit.*, 126.

16 The books which bear his name are: *Aus was ursach . . .* (Strasburg, 1529); *Ein gemeine berechnung . . .* (Strasburg, 1529); *Erklerung durch vergleichung . . .* (n.p., 1530). The fourth writing, *Eine gemeine Einleitung . . .* (n.p., revised ed. 1529) is so similar to Bünderlin's other works that there is little doubt concerning his authorship. The head librarian of the Dresden Royal Library kindly supplied microfilm copies of these works. The work which most clearly states his position with regard to sacraments, etc., is *Erklerung durch vergleichung* (1530), although the desire to be done with all ceremonies is present in all of his works.

17 See "An Early Anabaptist Treatise on the Christian and the State," *MQR* XXXII (1958) 29, footnote 5. A comparison of typography shows that the printer Beck, who printed some of Hofmann's writings and also Franck's *Chronica* in 1531, did not print the *Klarer unterricht*.

identical, is sufficiently similar to suggest that they were written by the same man. Although neither book is consistently organized, both have a less rambling style than any other book generally attributed to Pilgram Marpeck. As to their contents, it seems that the *Clare verantwurtung,* with its sharper tone, its severer condemnation of the "false spirits," its rejection of the argument that length of time weakens the strength of the sacraments, and especially its use of certain phrases dear to Bünderlin, was directed against Bünderlin, who had just left Strasbourg after causing considerable stir there. It was of course inevitable that his spiritualism, bordering on pantheism, and his rejection of Antiochian methods of exegesis, would clash with the sober hermeneutics of the Anabaptists as represented by Marpeck. When Marpeck arrived in Strasbourg, Bünderlin's works were being read publicly in some of the Anabaptist meetings and a decision between these two approaches was inevitable. In the *Clare verantwurtung* we have the statement of the Anabaptist brotherhood against Bünderlin, and as we will see they used convincing arguments.[18]

The *Clare verantwurtung* has 42 pages and is divided into three parts, dealing with the arguments of the false spirits after they are briefly stated. The first argument, that Christians should not use the ceremonies of the New Testament because they have fallen into abuse which will last until the end of time, is refuted in four and a half pages by saying that abuse in and of itself does not make a thing bad, especially when, as is the case with the ceremonies, their institution is true. To the pure all things are pure, and so with the ceremonies of the church it depends upon the attitude of the participant. They are recommended for the believers, and the party of the Antichrist cannot weaken them. The institution of Christ "neither changes, decays, nor modifies itself because of the passage of time" ("versitzt, erfault, noch verligt sich auch nit durch kein lenng der zeit") for the institutions of the New Testament will last until the return of Christ (*a ii verso*). There is evidence, the author contends, that God is purifying His ceremonies and doing away with some of the abuses connected with them. With extended reference to the Old Testament the author shows that God works in such a manner. This use of the Old Testament may seem somewhat striking in an Anabaptist book, and apparently the author was somewhat self-

18 Ernst Staehelin suggests the possibility that one of the books by Marpeck was published in Basel. In view of Oecolampad's description of the contents of the booklet this does not seem probable. Most likely one of the many "Winkeldrucker" in Strasbourg printed it (*Briefe und Akte zum Leben Oekolampads,* II, 1527-1593, Leipzig, 1934 p. 635 ftnote). Baum says after giving the title of the *Clare verantwurtung:* "Jn eandem sententiam atq. contra Bunderlinum ejusque apertus aliud ejusdem anni exstat scriptum: *Ain klarer . . .*" (*loc. cit.*).

conscious about it but he explains it with the statement: "and since these spirits use the figures of speech of the Old Testament I have to reply to them with the same" ("Vn weil diese geister die figurlicheyten altes Testamentes anziehen/ muss ich ihnen auch damit begegnen") (*a iii recto*).

The second argument, that since the death of the apostles there has been no testimony of the Scripture that these rites should be practiced, and that an external command is needed to practice these rites today, is answered as follows: If this were truly the case, it would be necessary to stop praying the Lord's Prayer[19] and many other things. Rather, the author insists, the New Testament is valid until Christ returns, and the Scriptures do not mean His spiritual return. It is not necessary that miracles accompany the authorization to practice the ceremonies of Christ. Nor is a physical command from Christ necessary. Philip, Apollos, and others preached without having had a physical encounter with Christ; they were inwardly sent by Christ's spirit. So even today the pure order of Christ is being restored through His voluntary spirit. The trouble with these perverted spirits is that they wish to discontinue the New Testament ceremonies on the basis that the Old Testament rites are no longer used. Where a man believes that Christ has truly come in the flesh, that man will submit his total person in obedience to Christ. But the erring spirits desire to make the kingdom of Christ too spiritual in this time, and make too big a jump, while the Antichrist makes the reign of Christ too physical. These spirits lack the Spirit of Christ, as is seen by the fact that they do not use the gifts of the spirit for the good of all, and they do not believe in *Jesus* Christ, through whom this Spirit of promise can be received.

The individualism of the "spirits" receives extended criticism in this section. The gifts of God are given for the church and are not meant for private consumption. This section concludes with the statement: "The salvation of the soul depends on the love of the neighbor. He who does not love his neighbor does not love his soul but seeks his own profit through unwisdom and to his own highest disprofit" (*b ii verso*).

The third and final argument deals with the authority of the ministry and the transmission of that authority. The erring spirits say that no apostle had the power from Christ to hand down the apostleship to another, and so the apostles instituted bishops, but beyond that no one was called to tend the flock of God. The rebuttal insists that external handing over of authority means nothing, but

19 Cf. *V* 106:16 f.

that the important thing is the inner drive. Even Christ's command to His disciples meant nothing "unless he put the command a second time spiritually into their heart" ("wo er ihnen den befelch nit nachmaln geistlich in busen dess hertzen hett geschoben") (*b iii recto*). In the worldly kingdoms external force has meaning, but in the spiritual realm "it all depends on the inner power which only Christ gives through His spirit" ("ligt es am innerlichen gewalt den alleyn Christus durch seinen geist gibt") (*ibid.*). Human nature rebels against the authority of the apostle or bishop, and it is a hard role to fill. The bishop has not a power of ruling as in the world but one of humility and lowliness, and he does nothing out of a desire to rule, but as the servant of God and his church.[20]

The command of Christ, according to our author, was not restricted to the early apostles, nor is His grace confined to the early church. He died for the whole world, and until the whole world has heard His Gospel the church's work is not done.

The author tells us that he was compelled by love to write his book. He insists on a voluntary as well as a meaningful participation in the ceremonies. It is to be no "aping imitation" ("affische nachthuung")[21] but rather a dynamic relationship of growth in which a man grows in understanding and knowledge of God, "finally jumps with Peter himself, freely, willingly (John XXI) into the sea of tribulations looking to Christ, and throwing away his cloak or old clothes" (*c ii verso*).[22] This passage is the clearest reference to believer's baptism in the whole book, and in the light of the other statements which insist that all the ceremonies of the church apply only to believers it is safe to assume that this book was written by an Anabaptist.

The discussion on the Holy Spirit which follows gives a peculiar interpretation found, as far as the present writer is aware, only in the writings of Marpeck. This view insists that the Holy Spirit was only given fully after the ascension of Christ, and that prior to that all the disciples had only a foretaste of the Spirit (*c iii recto*).[23] In

20 Cf. "In disem haus crissti, ist kain herr . . . *Conf.* 197. The *Testamenterleutterung* advances of the same view of the ministry when it says: "Bischoffämpter . . . und dergleichen ämpter durch seine gaben (Holy Spirit) zum gemeinen nutz vnnd besserung solchs volcks, als leibs oder gemain Christi, nit herrschenden irrdischer weiss, zu regieren wie in Israel, sunder gaistlicher weiss 1 Cor. 12.14, Ephe. 4, Act. 20, 1 Pet. 5. Vnd seien all solche dienst vnd ämpter, nit vmb der diener vnd amptspersonen willen, sunder solche diener vnd amptspersonen, vmb der gemain willen der sie dienen" (fol. 78). Cf. also *CV b v verso; KB* fol. 182 (by Scharnschlager).

21 This expression, which is probably an accusation of Bünderlin's, occurs in identical form in *Conf.* 191 and in similar form in the *Vermanung* 222:36; 233:30. The *Vermanung* (hereafter *TB*) is cited according to the text printed in the *Gedenkschrift zum 400jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten* (Ludwigshafen, 1925) 185-282.

22 Compare *Conf.* 200 when Marpeck speaks of "das allt Klaid abtziehe," with reference to baptism.

23 On the "Vorgeschmack," see *TB* 235:15 f. and the use of "Vorcosten" in a different con-

his later writings Marpeck made much of this idea, and Schwenckfeld sharply attacked it. This spirit, according to the author of the *Clare verantwurtung,* was promised immediately after Adam's sin, but it did not come in full measure until after the ascension of Christ.[24]

It is not necessary to spend time in refuting the Bünderlin authorship of this book as held by Gerbert and Nicoladoni. Everything speaks against it. Whether or not it is an Anabaptist book is not in serious question since its whole mood is Anabaptist. Its strong stress on voluntary participation in the ceremonies,[25] the suggestion that Christ's pure order is being restored, its reference to the "leadership office" (*Vorsteerampt*) and above all its small-group feeling, all these point in the direction of Anabaptist authorship.

In determining authorship, we will need to look first at its place of origin. There can be little doubt that its viewpoint is that of the Anabaptist brotherhood at Strasbourg. Here occurred the parting of the ways between the Anabaptist position and that of Bünderlin during 1531, and all indications are that the book emanated from the Strasbourg Anabaptists. More specifically, all indications seem to center on Marpeck as its author. The most obvious bit of evidence is the report of the censors. Legally the City Council had no authority to punish Marpeck for the views expressed in these two books because it lacked positive proof of his authorship and the books were relatively harmless.[26] Censorship in Strasbourg was mainly designed to halt the flood of immoral and slanderous literature; it never was applied rigorously to punish Anabaptists. The objections even to the writings of Hofmann always were to their revolutionary potential in his lack of respect for authority. Any theory of authorship must have at least some evidence in the area of similarities of style and content. Before looking at some of these, we shall look briefly at the contents of the *Klarer Unterricht.*

This book has 62 pages and while it has a table of contents it does not organizationally strictly adhere to it. The tone is gentler

text; *V* 233:47. Strong statements about the inability of the disciples to possess the Holy Spirit are made in *V* 314:40; 245:46; 381:20. However, in *TB* 227:41f. the same position as found in *CV c i verso* is expressed.

24 Cf. *Conf.,* 176, 186, *V* 160:24 f. *TB* 227:41 f.

25 Cf. *Conf.* 173: "tauff des truebsals in crissto, in aigner verwilligung,"

26 In the censor's report (see above, footnote No. 1) the word "ferunt" could mean "bear." If this were the case then our search for these two Marpeck booklets would not be ended until we discover two books by him which bear his name. Since Marpeck never published a book with his name attached to it and as an Anabaptist to do so would have been dangerous it is better to take "ferunt" here in the impersonal sense: "They say," or "it is reported." We might expect an infinitive following, but this is not necessary. Instead a predicate accusative follows, which can be translated: "It is said (or the people say) Pilgram is author."

than that of the *Clare verantwurtung* and the polemics appear to be somewhat broader. The author's purpose is stated (*C II recto*) as not to argue with the false prophets, but rather to write for the strengthening of the faithful and believers, and to restore the smitten consciences and plant them more firmly in God. The opening lines and salutation agree with this avowed purpose.

Concerning the office of apostle and bishop, the author asserts that some people do not differentiate between them. With these he has no quarrel as long as it is acknowledged that the same authority which the first century apostles had also rests upon the Christian ministry. The author admits that it is hard for him to oppose those who are, humanly speaking, highly educated and wise in the Scriptures, but he takes comfort in his faith in Christ which is a master over all learning (*kunst*).[27] The false spirits teach that it is wrong to follow the ordinance of Christ in teaching, baptism, Lord's Supper, etc. He opposes this argument by stating that these ceremonies have all been granted to us with Christ. These prophets (the designation he most commonly employs) wait for a special commission, but he fears that like the Jews they will miss the manifestation of Christ as a carpenter's son. This stress on the humanity of Christ pervades both books, but here it is called the key to the understanding of man's fall and Adamic nature (*A vi verso*). The assertion of the "spirits" that God's voice can be heard apart from the humanity of Christ is expressly rejected. True, it is difficult for human nature to accept the ceremonies instituted by Christ, for human nature rebels against it, but before we can penetrate the deep mysteries which these spirits discuss, we must submit to the humanity of Christ.

Three types of spirits or prophets are described as present in the author's day. First there are those who talk lofty things about the divinity of Christ and disparage the things belonging to His humanity, such as the ceremonies, and thus exalt the humanity of Christ too much above His divinity.[28] The second type rejects the incarnation of Christ entirely and proclaim salvation apart from it. The third type accepts the ceremonies externally without the Spirit, as do the Papists and others, and perform all their acts in external appearance and hypocrisy (B ii *verso*). The stress on the humanity of Christ is a recurring theme in this book; it is said that "the secrets of God lie concealed under the external words, deeds, and cere-

27 The word "kunst" is extensively used by the Marpeck brotherhood, especially in the *Verantwortung I*, and in the *Kunstbuch*. The name *Kunstbuch* is a deliberate attempt to show the true "kunst." Kunst can be translated as insight or understanding. Conrad Grebel wrote in one of his letters in 1524-25, "Ich glaub dem Wort Gottes aus gnaden, nicht aus kunst."

28 This is a *non sequitur* in the original.

monies of the humanity of Christ" (*B iii recto*), and the humanity is called the means of learning to know God. He who would be directly taught of God, like the Jews, rejects Jesus.

The author holds that the function of external ceremonies is to lead into the internal realm. It is not the case, as the prophets insist, that the internal must precede the external, for Christ used the natural and external means for the sake of men and not for the angels (*B vi verso*). Only after history has come to its conclusion will the need for external means no longer be felt. The author shows the weakness of the case of the false prophets with a number of illustrations, beginning with Peter. Peter tried to defend his Lord, but ended by betraying Him. And so even in his day, the author says, the world is full of Petrine and Iscariotic Christians who know only the physical Christ and have no inkling of the risen Christ. The author has come to his impression on this point through reading their "writings and confessions" (*C ii verso*). They disparage martyrdom (*C iii recto*) and seek to evade persecution. The next illustration which the author adduces is that of the women on the resurrection morning. According to these prophets the apostles should have waited for a higher revelation from heaven before proceeding to the empty tomb simply on the basis of the testimony of lowly women (*C iii verso*), and in the case of Thomas Jesus should have sent a glorious theophany to the unbelieving Thomas to prepare him for his encounter and to test the genuineness of his repentance.

Further, the author says, these spirits charge the faithful with doing everything merely out of the letter; they allow themselves to be baptized, because it is so written, etc. To a certain extent the author agrees that this is the case, but states that a vital experiential element is involved which he illustrates with his own baptism (*C v recto*). "Faith is a living letter in my heart" (*C v verso*). To the assertion of the spirits that the times have changed and that we now no longer live in the apostolic age, the author replies that until the end of the age we live in the commission and under the ordinance of Christ. The author pretends surprise that the apostles elected one to replace Judas without waiting for a special revelation, basing their action on the Word of God (*C viii recto*). In the case of the man born blind, whose eyes Jesus covered with mud and whom he then commanded to go to the pool of Siloam, the arguments of these prophets would mean that Jesus should not have used such lowly means to heal that man. The author replies that although He would not have needed to do so, He nevertheless chose to do so. In his

day there are those who despise the external means as being too lowly, and hence their darkness does not become light (*C viii verso*).

The final illustration offered by the author is the case of Cornelius, who was a pious man before his conversion but without faith and the Holy Spirit. The analogy between the erring spirits and Cornelius does not hold, because they have already heard of Christ and His resurrection, while Cornelius knew nothing about Christ. God looked with favor on Cornelius, because He knew that Cornelius would accept the grace of Christ. But the Holy Spirit could not come to Cornelius without external preaching (*D iii verso*).

A final point is that the prophets apparently made much of the fact that there were many sects in Christianity. But this cannot be used as an argument for doing nothing in organizing a church (*Stillstand*), since the early church, both at Jerusalem and Corinth, had dissension, and yet Paul did not order the Corinthians to suspend the Lord's Supper simply because of divisions and the abuse of the Lord's Supper (*D v recto*). The fault lies not with Christ nor the institution of his ceremonies, but rather in the false hearts which abuse them (*D vi recto*). The eleven apostles did not leave Christ simply because one, Judas, was a betrayer!

As indicated above it is clear that the contents of this book are not as logically and clearly arranged as one might hope, but it is also clear that the prophets who are under constant attack by the author are of the Schwenckfeld conventicle which at that time was having its beginning in Strasbourg. However the attack is broader than merely against Schwenckfeld, and includes those who like Bünderlin and Franck wished to discard the ceremonies entirely. No doubt it is not by chance that the term most commonly used in this book to refer to the opponents is prophets, while in the *Clare verantwurtung* the term is spirits. This is not exclusively the case, but even so it may indicate that the author considered Schwenckfeld closer to his own position than Bünderlin.

The question can legitimately be raised whether the same man wrote both books. A reading of the two books gives the impression that they were indeed written by the same person, but this could be an entirely subjective judgment. The measure of subjectivity can be lessened, however, by looking at certain similarities in the use of Scripture verses and certain common terms.

There are a number of terms and expressions which recur several times, and which are found both in the two books and in Marpeck's writings. Some of these are the terms "sophist," or

"a sophistic exposition,"[29] "subtil,"[30] "erring spirits" or terms similar to it,[31] and terms like "pur," " aligierung," "spitsfundigkeit," and "klare"—all part of the Marpeck vocabulary.

Perhaps more important than these terms, the use of which might be coincidental, is the use of certain passages of Scripture interpreted in the same way. There is first of all the sentence occurring in the beginning of the *Clare verantwurtung* "As some spirits (so I John, went out from us, but are not of us) suppose and desire"[32] and the quotation from the same book: "He who does not remain in the teaching of Christ has no God" ("Wer nicht bleibt in der ler Christi hat keinen Gott"), which Marpeck quotes three times in his Confession of 1532.[33] There is also the verse referring to the Lord's hand not being shortened, which Marpeck applied to his own time, insisting that the spiritualists were trying to shorten the hand of the Lord.[34]

These illustrations could be multiplied, and while subjective elements remain, it seems most probable that in *Clare verantwurtung* and *Klarer Unterricht* we have the two Marpeck booklets referred to in the report of the censors. It is of course possible that they were written by someone else, someone who influenced Marpeck so deeply that ideas and expressions from these books continue to appear later in his own writings. It is also possible that Leupold Scharnschlager wrote them; certainly Scharnschlager has not been given an adequate place in the history of South German Anabaptism.

To the present writer it seems, however, most plausible to assume that both of the books were written by Marpeck and that they represent the first parting of the ways between the Spiritualists and the Anabaptists. As such they are important witnesses to Marpeck's ability in those formative years to discern the real issues between the Anabaptists and the Spiritualists, whether they were of the more radical type like Bünderlin, or of the pietistic type like Schwenckfeld.

29 *CV* b ii *recto*, cf. *TB* 197:6; 225:16; 239:17; 241:40; 247:2. The significance of this word is enhanced by the fact that in the above references it is lacking in Rothmann's *Bekentnisse* of 1533 which is the basis of the *Taufbüchlein*. See Frank Wray, "The Vermanung of 1542 and Rothmann's Bekentnisse of 1533," *ARG* 47 (1956) 243-251.

30 *KU B*, cf. *Conf.*, 194; *V* 74:10; 96:36; 99:36; 148:6.

31 *KU* title page: "ettliche trück vnd schleichendt Geister"; *CV* title page: "irrige Geyster"; "etlich irrige geisted"; *KB* fol. 280, compare *V*, 149:42; 174: "erschlichen werden"; 272:24; 504; 170:41; 182:32; 146:27; 148:25; 150; 152:26, 34; 116:29; 124:29; 166:6; 155:19; 160:17; 141:38; 156:7 f.; 157:49; 158:25. For Schwenckfeld's reaction see *CS* VIII, 272:30; 283:1; 186:3; *V* 143:2. In *KU C i verso* reference is made to the "schleichendt reden."

32 *CV a verso*, cf. *TB* 217:16 (unless otherwise noted, references to the *Vermanung* do not occur in the *Bekentnisse*), *KU A ii recto;* Also the *Aufdeckung der Babylonischen Hure, MQR* XXXII (1958) 36.

33 *Conf.* 193, 178, 202; *CV* a viii *recto; V* 68:9; 70:45; 81:1; 82:33; 139:33; 149:1; 151:49; *QF* 180:8 *KB* fol. 65b. Leupold Scharnschlager uses it, see *Mennonitische Geschtsblätter* (1938) 10, as does Hans Umlaufft, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, Bayern II* (Gütersloh, 1951). 66:22.

34 *KU A iii recto, V* 78:34; 144:32; *CV. bv recto.*

LEONHARD SCHIEMER AND HANS SCHLAFFER TWO TYROLEAN ANABAPTIST MARTYR-APOSTLES OF 1528

ROBERT FRIEDMANN*

I. LEONHARD SCHIEMER

Leonhard Schiemer of Vöklabruck, Upper Austria, who died a martyr on January 14, 1528, at Rattenberg on the Inn, Tyrol, has only recently been recognized as an outstanding leader of the very beginning of the Anabaptist movement. He belongs to the line of South German Anabaptists roughly characterized by the names Hans Denk and Hans Hut, to which group also Hans Schlaffer, Ambrosius Spittelmaier, and Hans Nadler belonged. They all represent a stronger spiritualistic emphasis in their Christian faith than the Swiss Brethren. The "outer word" alone does not suffice for a true understanding, Schiemer would say; rather the true light of the Holy Spirit is needed which shines in our heart.

Of his life some details are known from his *Bekanntnus*,[1] which he submitted to his judge in January 1528. He was brought up at Vöklabruck and Vienna by God-fearing parents, and desired to enter the Catholic priesthood. But when he found little godliness in the life and teaching of the priests he joined the Barefoot Friars (Franciscans), noted for their piety. But again he found nothing but strife and hypocrisy; finally, having tried this life for six years he fled from the monastery at Judenburg, Styria. A kind citizen of that city gave him some clothing and a guilder for his needs. Now he began to wander about: first he went to Nürnberg where he learned the tailor's trade (and probably met some of the leading men of the Radical Reformation). Thence he went to Nikolsburg, Moravia, to hear Hubmaier's teachings—having vigorously opposed them in his former days. From here he turned to Vienna to learn more about true Christianity from Hans Hut. He related that the assembly "in the Kärntnerstrasse" was greatly embarrassed when he entered, suspecting him to be a spy. After two days of talks, however, he accepted believer's baptism from Oswald Glaidt in the spring of 1527. From Vienna he went to Steyr, the industrial city in Upper Austria, known as a place of great readiness for radical ideas. Here he stayed for a time earning his living by his trade and baptizing many converts to the new faith. The brotherhood made him a preacher (*Leermeister*)

* Robert Friedmann is Professor of History and Philosophy at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

1 Lydia Müller, ed., *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) (hereafter cited as *Glaubenszeugnisse* I) 80 f.

and soon sent him into many lands (Salzburg, Bavaria, Tyrol) to spread his new message. Although he was well aware that several monasteries in Austria were trying to apprehend him as a renegade monk he obeyed his call without hesitation, and was caught in the city of Rattenberg on the Inn, Tyrol (in the documents always written Rotenburg), Nov. 25, 1527, scarcely six months after his conversion. In Rattenberg, he claims, he had worked only one day, and yet he signs one of his epistles to the local brotherhood as "your unworthy bishop." We cannot completely reconstruct the story of that Rattenberg Anabaptist congregation but there is little doubt that Schiemer's influence was tremendous, in spite of the fact that he was in prison until his execution by the sword seven weeks later, Jan. 14, 1528. The district judge Bartholomeus Angst was most lenient to his prisoner,[2] allowing brethren to go in and out and to give him paper and ink to write as much as he wanted. Thus these seven weeks are among the most fruitful ones in the long and bitter story of South German and Tyrolean Anabaptism. His writings were soon collected in a pamphlet or booklet presumably for the local congregation, but they found wide distribution afterwards in Moravia, Germany, and Switzerland. The Hutterites as well as Pilgram Marpeck and his group were greatly indebted to this outstanding Anabaptist teacher.

At one time Schiemer tried to escape[3] but was caught again. Now his imprisonment was made harder. Torture and hunger made him miserable in the flesh, and the dread of death made him shudder. But he gained new strength by the thought, "If I did not place all my confidence in the Lord, I would fall; but the Lord is my comfort and my confidence; he forsakes none who trusts him."[4] The government in Innsbruck urged Judge Angst to greater rigor and requested the speeding up of the case. Schiemer was condemned to death by fire in accordance with the mandates of King Ferdinand, but the sentence was moderated to beheading and burning the corpse afterwards. "After him about 70 others testified to their faith [in Rattenberg]," writes the Hutterite Chronicle, thus demonstrating the amazing spiritual vitality of this "Schiemer congregation."

The writings produced by Schiemer in prison are found in numerous Hutterite codices (best perhaps in the oldest one extant, 1566, now at a Bruderhof in Montana) and, surprisingly, also in the *Kunstbuch* of 1561, which originated in the Marpeck group. The numbering and counting of these writings is not easy because the

2 Joseph von Beck, *Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (hereafter cited as Beck) (Vienna, 1883) 61
3 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 76
4 *Loc. cit.*

items are sometimes written together and sometimes separated, sometimes considered as "epistles" and sometimes taken as tracts or sermons. Their tremendous appeal and effectiveness in the shaping of the Anabaptist genius and tradition cannot be doubted. Fortunately, the majority of Schiemer's writings have been published by Lydia Müller;[5] others will follow in *Glaubenszeugnisse* II[6] and in the forthcoming edition of the *Kunstbuch*. The list is roughly as follows:

(1) *Eine hübsche Erklärung der 12 Artikel des christlichen Glaubens,* contained in an epistle to the church in Rattenberg (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 44-58; *Kunstbuch,* No. 10). The oldest codex of the Hutterites (1566) has this item too, supplemented by two pages containing a remarkable diagram of four circles: /the Will of God/ Adam/ Creature/ Christ/, plus accompanying text (not yet published).

(2) *Was die Gnad sey. Eine Vorred,* and a tract "concerning threefold grace." The term Vorred means with the Hutterites always "sermon" but at this place it might also mean "introduction" (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 58-71; *Kunstbuch,* No. 9). This is a real gem of Anabaptist writing. In the article concerning "the second grace" there is a lengthy insertion called *Auslegung des Vater Unser,* a paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer (to be reissued parallel with a similar piece by Hans Langenmantel, *q.v.,* in *Glaubenszeugnisse* II). In the *Kunstbuch* this item runs over without interruption into item

(3) *Vom Fläschl* (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 72-74), concluded by a lengthy epistle to the congregation of Rattenberg, dated Dec. 4, 1527 (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 74-77). The *Kunstbuch* has *Fläschl* and epistle all under No. 9. It might be said that Schiemer was never more profound and close to the spirit of the great medieval mystics than in this item. The ensuing epistle is more personal; the writer suddenly interrupts his "Lehr" (instruction) by being overwhelmed by his predicament and now wants to pour out his troubled mind to his brethren.

(4) *Von der Tauff im Neuen Testament,* also called *Von dreyerlei Tauff* (namely, by the Spirit, by water, and by blood), very much a counter piece to the *Dreyerlei Gnad* (above No. 2; *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 77-78). The *Kunstbuch* includes this item in No. 10 (see above, item 1) as a sort of appendix. The Hutterite codices call this item "the third epistle by Leonhard Schiemer," apparently meaning the third item which Schmiemer sent from prison. The term "epis-

5 See footnote 1.

6 Lydia Müller and Robert Friedmann, eds., *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter II* (to be published at Gütersloh in 1960) (hereafter cited as *Glaubenszeugnisse* II).

tle" is not quite correct as this item does not contain personal communications. The *Kunstbuch* presents these four items as 9 and 10.

(5) *Trostbrief an einen schwachen Bruder.* In many Hutterite codices but not in the *Kunstbuch* or in Müller.

(6) *Ein wahrhaft kurz Evangelium, heut der Welt zu predigen,* found only in the *Kunstbuch,* to be published in *Glaubenszeugnisse* II, a rather short piece, a kind of sermonette.

(7) *Ein Bekanntnus vor dem Richter zu Rotenburg* (most likely January 1528) (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 80-81; not in the *Kunstbuch*), a brief biography with a concluding apologetic paragraph.

These are the known items of Schiemer's work, all produced for his Rattenberg brethren during the seven weeks of his imprisonment. The writer of this article, however, is inclined to ascribe to Schiemer also a number of anonymous items found in Hutterite codices, usually following Schiemer's "epistles" and apparently serving a similar purpose—organizing the Rattenberg church and giving it guidance, direction, and order.

(8) *Ordnung der Gemein, wie ein Christ leben soll.* In the Hutterite Chronicle (*Geschicht-Buch,*[7] 60-61), inserted by the writer of the Chronicle for 1529 without much argument, taken most probably again from the afore-mentioned (hypothetical) booklet of Schiemer's writings.[8] It is a skeleton church discipline, a true model of Anabaptist thought concerning ordering life in the congregation, much shorter than the Schleitheim articles of the same year (1527), only laying the groundwork for all future attempts in the same direction. Most likely Schiemer drew it up tentatively in order that the brethren of the incipient congregation might have guidance after his death.

(9 to 12) Anonymous tracts of similar purpose. One is a catechism; the rest contain more or less moral instruction.[8a] The *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (1914, p. 19) assigns all these items expressly to Schiemer.

Besides these writings several hymns are likewise ascribed to Schiemer: (1) Dein heilig statt hond sie zerstört (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 82-83, after Beck, 58-59, note); (2) *Wir bitten dich, ewiger Gott, neig zu uns deine Ohren* (*Ausbund,* No. 31); here the author is named Leonard Schöner whence the *Martyrs' Mirror* may have

7 Rudolf Wolkan, ed., *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* (Macleod and Vienna, 1923) (hereafter cited as *Geschicht-Buch*).

8 The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter cited as *MQR*) published an English translation of the fuller text as found in the codices: *MQR* XXIX (1955) 162-166.

8a No. 9: *Von der Prob des Geistes;* No. 10: *Von der Kinderzucht;* No. 11 *Unterricht eines wohlgefälligen Lebens;* No. 12: *Von den bösen Weibern,* a strange warning referring to famous O.T. cases beginning with Eve, and showing the tragic consequences of trusting seducing women. At first this writer was reluctant to ascribe this tract to Schiemer, but his *Bekanntnus* (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 81) refers expressly to an accusation of the Tyrolean authorities that the Anabaptists had too much to do with evil women.

taken the name; also in *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* 28-29; (3) Sollstu bei Gott dein wohnung han (*Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* 28-29). According to an old codex in Esztergom this hymn is said to have been composed by Schiemer, but according to Wolkan[9] it was written by Ludwig Haetzer; (4) Wie köstlich ist der Heil'gen Tod (Wiswedel,[10] 185, who took it from the Beck collection in Brno, file No. 45). No further reference is found.

Schiemer's Theology and Teaching

One might easily agree with Wiswedel's statement[11] that both Schiemer and Schlaffer had been strongly influenced by medieval mysticism (while being priest or monk), in the main by Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie* just as Hans Denk and some of the early Spiritualists had been. Christ must be born in us, we must suffer with Him, be crucified and be buried with Him, also descend into Hades with Him, in order to be raised with Him.[12] Schiemer prefers the translation "The Word became flesh and dwelleth *in* us," rather than "among" us, as we likewise believe "in" God not "on" God (German: *an* Gott), etc.[13] Justification without sanctification loses its deeper meaning,[14] countering Paul's thesis by references to Matt. 25. In such an outlook naturally the old problem of "the inner and outer Word" becomes a most urgent issue although this emphasis on the inwardness of God's Word never leads to a quietistic enjoyment but rather to an active witnessing and following of Christ.[14a]

This becomes perhaps most impressive in the beautiful small tract *Vom Fläschl*: "A reply to those who say we drink something from a small flask, of which the devil himself does not know what it contains." Very well, says Schiemer, let it be called a flask. But the drink in it is nothing but a contrite, crushed, and sad heart, pounded by the mortar of the cross. The grapes in it grew in God's vineyard and were pressed under the press of tribulation. From such a flask Christ drank on the cross. And as a flask is narrow at the top but wide at the bottom, thus is also the way of salvation: once a man has overcome all agony and tribulation the flask gets wide and he receives God's comfort and consolation.

Schiemer teaches three kinds of grace: the first is the Word given us by the Father as a divine light (the law). This divine light in man

9 Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin, 1903) 12
10 Wilhelm Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum,* Vol. II (Kassel, 1930) (hereafter cited as *Bilder* II).
11 Bilder II, 184
12 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 53
13 *Ibid.,* 61
14 *Ibid.,* 78
14a Cf. W. Wiswedel, "The Inner and the Outer Word," *MQR* XXVI (1952) 171-91.

shows him what sin is (*anzeigen was sind sey oder nit*). Although this light is the same in all men, not all accept it and use it in the same way.[15] The second grace is Christ or divine righteousness (*Gerechtigkeit*). The first light is our taskmaster (*Zuchtmeister*), preparing us for the other light which is Christ (apparently Christ *in us*). But in order to see this second light one needs to go through the "furnace of suffering" (Luther: *Feuer der Trübsal,* Eccl. 2:5, also I Peter 1:7, "gold tested by fire"; the Anabaptists changed the word into *Schmelzofen der Gelassenheit),* "denn der ungecreutzigte christ ist wie ein unprobiertes erz."[16] In other words, an untested faith is no faith at all. Thus the second grace might also be called "the cross." The third grace, finally, is a grace of joy and rejoicing. It is the promise of the Holy Spirit and His glory. While the life of the "world" begins merrily but ends sadly, the life of a Godfearing man has a sad beginning but eventually the Holy Spirit comes to him and anoints him with the oil of unspeakable joy.

As there are three kinds of grace there are also three kinds of baptism, well known from the Scriptures themselves: the first baptism is with the Holy Spirit, the second is with water, and the third with blood. Baptism with water is a confirmation of faith and an inner covenant with God. "When one has written a letter he seals it. But no one would seal a letter without knowing what it contains. Whoever baptizes a child acts like a man who seals an empty letter."[17]

It would be an attractive task to search for the spiritual roots of these teachings. Herbert Klassen in his study of Hut[17a] strongly suggests that many a thought of Schiemer, Schlaffer, Ambrosius Spittelmaier, and others goes back to this dynamic and dedicated leader, as far as we are able to reconstruct his doctrines. This is most likely correct. But it is certainly also true that a great many of these ideas are derived from Schiemer's own spiritual experiences condensed as they were into the unbelievably brief span of perhaps nine months. The wide use of his writings throughout the Anabaptist brotherhood, including Pilgram Marpeck, and the unique heroism of the Rattenberg congregation (seventy-two martyrs within a few years) give vivid testimony to the spiritual force of these tracts, suggesting that also the sixteenth century knew something of the charismatic and pneumatic experiences of the apostolic church.

II. HANS SCHLAFFER

Hans Schlaffer, like Leonhard Schiemer, had a short but highly

15 *Ibid.*, 63
16 *Ibid.*, 67, 78; the repetition of this idea is characteristic.
17 *Ibid.*, 79
17 *Ibid.*, 79. 17a To be published in *MQR,* 1959.

significant career as an early Anabaptist preacher and leader in the Bavarian-Austrian area, and died a martyr at Schwatz, some five miles from Rattenberg in the Tyrol, on February 4, 1528. The Hutterite Chronicle[18] calls him "a highly gifted man." His "Account" (*Verantwortung*) before the magistrate of Schwatz, in 1527[19] states that he had entered the Catholic priesthood in 1511, and served in Upper Austria. With the coming of Luther he began to preach the pure Gospel but soon was forbidden to do so. In 1526 he resigned his priesthood, realizing that "it was the estate of a false prophet." For a time (1526-27) he stayed with the Protestant Lord Zelkin at his castle Weinberg near Freistadt, Upper Austria. It was either then or still earlier that he had come into contact with Anabaptists, most likely with Hans Hut. It is not known when or by whom he was baptized but Grete Mecenseffy[19a] shows how heavily the Anabaptist congregation of Freistadt leaned on Schlaffer, who followed more or less the line of Hut. In any case he left the area, beginning a period of wandering, the sequence of places being not quite clear. He visited Nikolsburg in 1527 where he heard the disput between Hubmaier and Hut, which happened prior to Hut's coming to Upper Austria. He may have been converted to Hut's ideas on that occasion and returned temporarily to Freistadt, establishing an Anabaptist congregation there; but it is also possible that he was in Nikolsburg even before he came to Lord Zelkin. In any case Freistadt soon became an unsafe abode, and he then went to Bavaria. First he went to Augsburg where he met Jacob Wideman and again Hans Hut; he may have been present at the "Martyr Synod" of Augsburg. Next he went to Nürnberg where he met Hans Denck and Ludwig Haetzer in September 1527,[20] "two excellent, in God learned men"; finally he went to Regensburg where he met Oswald Glaidt and Wolfgang Brandhuber, two more of the then leading men in the growing Anabaptist movement.

From Regensburg he turned south to the Inn Valley of Tyrol, to Brixlegg and Rattenberg, where he had some relatives. But after a brief stay due to sickness he went on toward Hall on the Inn for the winter. On his way he attended a meeting of Anabaptists in the mining city of Schwatz on the Inn, a few miles west of Rattenberg, on Dec. 5, 1527. There he was seized by the police and imprisoned in the near-by Frundsberg castle, together with the brother Linhard Frick (or, as the *Kunstbuch* calls him, Funck). He was brought be-

18 *Geschicht-Buch*, 44 f.
19 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 115-121
19a Grete Mecenseffy, "Die Herkunft des oberösterreichischen Täufertums," *Arch. f. Ref.-Gesch.* XLVII (1956) 252-59.
20 Walter Fellmann, *Hans Denck, Religiöse Schriften* (Gütersloh, 1956) 18

fore the magistrate and submitted a written *Verantwortung* which was sent to the provincial government in Innsbruck. His defense was very dignified: he had sought nothing evil but only divine truth; nothing was further from his mind than rebellion. Children, he contended, should not be baptized, for "they were the Lord's as long as they were in innocence, and they would not be damned." The Innsbruck government sent instructions to Judge S. Capeller for conducting the case. The statements of the prisoners would be sent to the authorities in Bavaria who also wanted to try these men. Orders were further given to convene the court with twelve jurymen to pass sentence on the two prisoners. At the same time a secret report should be made by the judge on the attitude of the jurymen, as it was known that some of them did not approve of death in such cases. Finally the death sentence was pronounced and Schlaffer and Frick were beheaded at Schwatz on Feb. 4, 1528.

Schlaffer left nine writings, all well preserved in numerous Hutterite codices. His long prayer written in the night before the execution is also found in the *Kunstbuch* of 1561 as No. 12. Of these writings only one rather short piece was composed while Schlaffer was still free, most likely in Freistadt, for the local brotherhood; it is a sort of shortened paraphrase of Hut's *Vom Geheimnus der Tauff* (Mecenseffy). All the other writings were written in prison between Dec. 6, 1527, and Feb. 3, 1528, in slightly more than eight weeks. These are the writings:

(1) *Kurzer Bericht eines christlichen Lebens* (also *Kurzer Bericht und Lehr eines rechten christlichen Lebens*); it is made up of the "Hut paraphrase" (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 94-96) and two prayers (*ibid.*, 96-98).[21] Already in the first document we recognize Schlaffer's greatest potential: his profound gift of praying or communicating with his God.

(2) *Ein einfältiger Unterricht zum Anfang eines gotseliges Lebens,* again introduced by a beautiful lengthy prayer (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 84-94). This tract, written Dec. 19, 1527, likewise reveals clearly Schlaffer's dependence on Hut.[22]

(3) *Kurze und einfältige Vermahnung von der Kindertauff, und wie derselbige nit mag beibracht werden aus Heiliger Schrifft.* It was written Jan. 2, 1528 (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 98-105).

(4) *Brief an einen schwachen Bruder, Antwort auf etliche Fragstück,* also Jan. 2, 1528 (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 105-10).

21 Beck, *Geschichts-Bücher,* 651
22 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 85

(5) *Von der Art und Gestalt Christi, was er geistlich und leiblich sey geformieret* (unpublished, found in Canadian Hutterite codices).

(6) *Bekandtnus und Verantwortung* [dem Richter zu Schwatz] *schriftlich überantwortet,* no date (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 110-15).

(7) *Die andere Verantwortung: Antwort auf* [fünf] *Fragstück vor dem Richter* (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 115-21). From this item all the biographical information was gained. This account was apparently first given orally before the judge, and later written down by Schlaffer for his brethren.

(8) *Ein Bericht seiner Verantwortung vor der Obrigkeit getan an seine Geschwistriget im Herren zugeschickt, Pfingstag vor Pauli Bekehrung,* Jan. 25, 1528 (*Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 121-25). This is another summary of Schlaffer's defense. He informed his brethren (perhaps the congregation of Schwatz) that the authorities in Innsbruck had falsified his written statement (No. 6), completely changing its meaning; for that reason he wanted to inform his brethren about what he had actually written. Thus we have three different documents (Nos. 6 to 8) in which Schlaffer gives account of the major ideas of South German Anabaptism as it had evolved at that time.

(9) *Ein einfältig Gebet,* also called *Gebet, Beicht und öffentlich Bekanntnus, Hans Schlaffers Testament und eigen Bekanntnus gegen Gott,* written Feb. 3, 1528, in the night before his execution. This is found in the *Kunstbuch* No. 12, and in many Hutterite codices.[23] In the typescript copy in the Goshen College Library this prayer cover 18 pages; in a narrowly written Hutterite codex (1566) it cover eight leaves. This prayer is no doubt one of the most profound and moving documents in the entire German devotional literature. Like Augustine in his *Confessions* he talks to God at great length about his life and thoughts, strengthening his mind during the agonizing hours before his death. It is most likely here that Schlaffer's greatest power is to be found and also his greatest contribution to Anabaptist tradition.

Schlaffer composed also two hymns: "Ungnad begehr ich nit von dir," No. 32 in the *Ausbund,* and pp. 22-23 in *Lieder der Hutterischen Büder;* the hymn was also circulated as a pamphlet in 1527, and reprinted in 1550 and 1551 in Nürnberg; "Herr Got, mein ewiger Vater" (with the acrostic "Hanns Schlaffer") in *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* 21-22; it was written in the last hours of his life, either before or after the above prayer.

23 Also *Geschichts-Bücher,* 652, as a very inadequate version of this prayer.

Schlaffer's Teachings

Schlaffer's main ideas were taken from Hans Hut, often to the point of verbatim borrowing. But this was nothing unusual in those days (compare Marpeck and Rothman); what really mattered was the particular emphasis or slant given to the ideas. In all Schlaffer's writings we meet the same spiritualistic or pneumatic atmosphere as in those of Schiemer, Ambrosius Spittelmaier, Hans Nadler, and other men connected with Denk and Hut. "Even if Christ had died a hundred times, it would avail nothing if the spiritual Christ is not preached also."[24] "Who ever descends into Hades with Christ, that is *in* Christ, will also be led out of Hades by God."[25] Pilgram Marpeck some twenty years later liked to indulge in speculation of this kind in exactly the same way.

Schlaffer is aware that suffering marks the genuine Christian in the "world," and his writings abound in such thoughts. "All Scriptures speak of nothing but of the suffering of the elect, from Abel to the apostles; that is why the lamb has been killed ever since the beginning of the world."[26] "Who ever suffers in the flesh stops sinning."[27] And in the Account: "Here I stand as a lamb which does not open its mouth as it is being slaughtered, to which may Christ . . . grant me strength and help."[28] "Only he who follows Christ is a Christian." Of particular appeal is a short passage in his first *Bericht und Lehr* where he speaks of the "Tiefe Christi," meaning Christ's lowliness (*Niedrigkeit*) and resignation. "It might also be called Hell, that a man could imagine himself deserted by God and all creatures. This lowliness (*Tiefe*) is the sign of Jonah. Into this lowliness one has to enter if one wants to be saved in Christ."[29] This is a thought which was repeated twenty years later nearly verbatim by Pilgram Marpeck in his "Epistle to the Brethren in the Grisons, Appenzell and Alsace," Feb. 1,1547, dealing with *Von der Tiefe Christi.*[30]

Grete Mecenseffy[30a] compared this entire trace of Schlaffer[31] with the Confession of the Freistadt Anabaptists[32] and Hut's *Vom Geheimnus der Tauff,* and found a near identity of all three, at least in certain sections. She thinks that the major ideas were borrowed from

24 *Bilder* II, 197, quoted from a copy in the Beck collection, file 46, in Brno
25 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 96
26 *Ibid.,* 88
27 *Ibid.,* 89
28 *Ibid.,* 124
29 *Ibid.,* 96
30 *Kunstbuch,* No. 35; see Heinold Fast, "Pilgram Marpeck und das oberdeutsche Täufertum," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* XLVII (1956) 235.
30a See note 19a.
31 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 94-96.
32 A. Nicoladoni, *Johannes Bünderlin* (Berlin, 1893) 250-252

Thomas Müntzer, Hut's first spiritual awakener, but this remains a debatable question. Rather one could think of the influence of late medieval mysticism as the true root of this line of tradition. In any case it remains a "gospel of the cross" which became particularly real as this cross was being experienced in the agony and dread of death.

In his "Letter to a Weak Brother" Schlaffer tries to answer certain scruples of that brother concerning difficult doctrinal issues; his reaction here might be called again typically Anabaptist. "One should not worry too much," he writes, "concerning certain secrets as if it would hurt you not to grasp their meaning. Rather one should take into captivity all though and reason in obedience to Christ (II Cor. 10:5)."[33] This answer is found time and again in Anabaptist sources.[33a] On the delicate issue of the meaning of the Trinity, Schlaffer answers again quite typically for pneumatic Anabaptism: "God is neither this nor that."[34] But Schlaffer does not deny the truth of the Trinity; in fact he defends it to the best of his ability.

Schlaffer and Schiemer are usually mentioned together, and rightly so. They both had been Catholic clergymen, had become true apostles of budding Anabaptism, both pursuing mainly the Denk-Hut line. Both died as martyrs within the span of two and a half weeks not more than five or six miles apart in the Inn Valley. Both left a valuable legacy to their brethren, who kept their memory and also their teachings alive. Schiemer was no doubt more the "bishop" who cared fatherlike for his congregation or church; Schlaffer never had one to care for. His accounts and tracts are rich sources of instruction and of strength, but his most lasting contributions are his numerous prayers. No other Anabaptist ever produced documents of this kind as profound and spiritual as Schlaffer.

33 *Glaubenszeugnisse* I, 107

33a See Friedmann, "Reason and Obedience," *ME* IV.

34 *Ibid.*, 108. Here Lydia Müller refers to a stanza of a hymn by Ludwig Haetzer which says exactly the same thing and must have been known to Schlaffer.

THE GERMANTOWN ANTI-SLAVERY PETITION OF 1688

J. Herbert Fretz*

In October 1683 the little English vessel *Concord* set anchor in the year-old port of Philadelphia with a handful of settlers from the Rhineland town of Krefeld. History has played strange tricks with these thirteen poor weavers and their families. The vessel has been called the "German Mayflower"[1] because of this early exodus of emigrants from the Rhineland, when in reality these were Dutch-speaking people with Dutch names whose ancestors, in part at least, had previously fled from Holland to Germany for religious and economic reasons. That their settlement in the woods, six miles north of Philadelphia, was called "Germantown" may indicate a token recognition of the land from which they emigrated, or, more likely, may have been influenced by the conspicuous leadership of a young German scholar, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who had preceded the Krefeld group to America by some six weeks, and then guided the unlearned settlers in plotting their village colony.

Again history has distorted the role of Pastorius in calling him founder[2] of Germantown, when more accurately he might be called the chronicler of the village. He chose to remain in Philadelphia until two years later when he occupied his six acre lot in Germantown.

In October 1685 several more families from Kriegsheim in the Palatinate, farther up the Rhine, joined these Krefelders in Germantown. Like the Krefelders they were not native Germans but had come earlier from Holland and Switzerland. Once more history long assumed these Krefelders and Kriegsheimers to be Mennonites, having come from the midst of Mennonites on the continent. That they were tied together by religious bonds is certain, but it has now been established beyond a doubt that they were essentially Quakers at the time of their migration.[3] Nevertheless, it is true that they or their

* J. Herbert Fretz is pastor of the Salem Mennonite Church, Freeman, South Dakota, and a member of the Board of Control of the Germantown Mennonite Church.

1 Albert Q. Maisel, "The Germans Among Us," *Reader's Digest* (March 1955) p. 97.

2 Oswald Seidensticker as quoted by John G. Whittier, *The Pennsylvania Pilgrim*, (Boston, 1873) pp. x, xi, and others. Cf. Smith (see footnote 2) pp. 88, 89, and Hull (see Footnote 2) 181 ff.

3 William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, (Swarthmore, Pennsylvania: Swarthmore College Monograph, 1935) 184 ff. This definitive work has proved that these Germantown pioneers were Dutch Quakers in the main, thus concluding the long controversy over nationality and religious affiliation. Other works to which the author is especially indebted for material in this article: Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); Harold S. Bender, "The Founding of the Mennonite Church in America at Germantown," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VII (1933) p. 227 ff.; *idem.*, "Germantown Mennonite Settlement," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale) II, 482 ff.; C. Henry Smith, *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania* (Norristown, 1929); Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown," *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: 1883) The same article appears in *The Settlement of Germantown and other Essays* (Philadelphia, 1880) and *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Volume IV, 1-41.

fathers had been Mennonites, who had been converted to Quakerism some twelve of fifteen years before their emigration. It is also true that a few of these pioneers, for one reason or another, reverted to their Mennonite faith in later years.

By 1690 a sprinkling of English and German families were living in Germantown, and the Mennonites were meeting separately for worship, although most of the inhabitants were of Dutch background and were practicing members of the Quaker faith.

Other misconceptions of Germantown history such as the tradition of a direct, personal invitation from William Penn to the Mennonites to settle Pennsylvania, or the impression left by early historians that Germantown was in the main a Mennonite settlement, or the erroneous claim that Germantown was the first Mennonite settlement in the New World, must be left for consideration elsewhere.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE PETITION

Of immediate interest to us is the 1688 petition against slavery prepared by these Dutch Quakers of Germantown. This too has suffered the time-hallowed misconception of being called the first recorded opposition to slavery in the New World.[4] After the Pequot War of 1637 in the Connecticut Valley, Roger Williams protested when the Puritans sold captive Indians into slavery, and in 1652 his colony of Rhode Island gave Negroes the same legal status as white indentured servants. But the law was never enforced and was later revoked when a slave economy developed in Rhode Island toward the end of the century.

In 1657 the Quaker leader George Fox wrote a letter of caution from England "To Friends Beyond Sea, that Have Blacks and Indian Slaves." He did not condemn slaveholding as such but expounded the idea of the equality of all men in the eyes of God. Fourteen years later, in 1671, Fox himself visited the island of Barbados on an American trip. When he observed the slaves in their degraded state, his concern for them was revived and he preached the Gospel to great members of them. Out of this experience he printed a tract in London in 1676 titled "Gospel Family-Order" in which he now reiterated the idea of the equality of all men before God, but emphasized further that this meant that the Gospel was also for the slaves:

> Christ, I say, shed his blood for them as well as for you: and tasted death for them as well as for you; and hath enlightened them as well as he hath enlightened you; and his grace hath appeared unto them as well as it hath appeared unto you; and he is a propitiation for

4 Drake, *op. cit.*, 1ff. I have drawn much upon this work in this part.

> their sins as well as for yours: for he is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world.[5]

Fox went so far as to suggest that as the bondsman in the Old Testamen was set free after a limited term, so Negro slaves might be set free "after a considerable term of years, if they have served them faithfully. . . ."[6]

In the meantime, in 1663, a Dutch colony led by Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy, a Mennonite-Collegiant, and founded at Horekill in present-day Delaware, had forbidden slavery in its constitution. A year later when New Amsterdam resisted the English naval forces, the British proceeded to attack Dutch settlements on the Delaware, and Plockhoy's colony was destroyed "to a naile."[7]

In 1673 the renowned Puritan Richard Baxter, of England, published "Directions to those masters in foreign plantations who have Negroes and other slaves" condemning slave traders as "pirates" and slave holders as "incarnate devils." In 1680 a lone clergyman in the Church of England, Morgan Godwin, criticized slave-holders for failing to instruct the "tawnies and blacks" in the Gospel, but neither he nor Baxter condemned the slave system as such. As Drake suggests, they "sought liberation of the Negroes' souls, not their bodies."[8]

It was William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker visiting America, who seems to have been the first to raise the vital issue: Is not slavery unchristian and wrong in itself? Edmundson had accompained Fox in 1671 when he visited the slaves in Barbados. Sometime later he revisited slave-ridden Barbados himself and after traveling and preaching in America crystalized his feelings at Newport on September 19, 1676, in what Drake calls "a general letter of advice to Friends in America." The burden of the letter is still in the spirit of Fox's Christian kindness to slaves:

> And it would be acceptable with God, and answer the witness in all, if you did consider their [i.e., the Negroes'] condition of perpetual slavery and make their condition your own, and so fulfill the law of Christ. For perpetual slavery is an aggravation, and an oppression upon the mind, and hath a ground; and Truth is that which works the remedy, and breaks the yoke, and removes the ground. So it would do well to consider that they [the slaves] may feel, see, and partake of your liberty in the gospel of Christ, . . .]that[they may see and know the difference between you and other people, and your self-denial may be known to all.[9]

5 *Ibid.*, 6
6 *Ibid.*, 6
7 Leland Harder and Marvin Harder, *Plockhoy from Zurik-zee* (Newton, 1952) 61.
8 *Op. cit.*, 3
9 *Ibid.*, 9, 10

While Edmundson does speak of working the remedy, breaking the yoke, and removing the ground, it appears that he means nothing more than that Christian slave-holders should have a mind toward the "condition" of their slaves so that the slaves might partake of their "liberty in the gospel of Christ." At the most Edmundson may be hinting (where Fox had stated clearly) that slaves *might* be freed after a term of acceptable service. It is in a postscript where Edmundson comes to the issue: "And many of you count it unlawful to make slaves of the Indians: and if so, then why the Negroes?" It is probably correct to assume from this that Edmundson had real misgivings about slavery, but to call this an "unequivocal challenge to slavery" or to say that "Edmundson stands first in Britain's empire to proclaim Negro slavery a sin," as Drake does,[10] is reading too much into a simple question raised in a postscript. It is enough to say that, so far as is known, Edmundson was the first to raise the basic issue: Is not slavery unchristian and wrong in itself?

The Germantown petition was not the first recorded opposition to slavery in the New World. Roger Williams or George Fox may receive that credit. Fox was one of the first, if not the first, to clearly enunciate the evils of slavery, pointing out the Christian equality of all men and demanding kindness toward the slaves, but Fox never protested the slavery system itself. Plockhoy forbade slavery in his colony, probably the first colony in the New World to do so, but its short-lived existence seems to have had no effect by way of protest against the slavery system itself. Even the memory of such a colony soon passed into oblivion. Edmundson should have the credit for first raising the vital issue of the slave system, but his indirect question can at best be called a mildly personal protest against slavery.

It remained for a small group of Christians in Germantown to boldly face the issue raised by Edmundson and, for the first time in the New World, clearly enunciate a case against the slavery system as such. There can be no question that the Germantown Petition of 1688 was a protest against the slavery system, and that it was squarely directed toward those who held slaves.

For years the petition was known only by references to it in the Quaker meeting records of 1688, until the original document was discovered by Nathan Kite, a Philadelphia antiquarian and bookseller, who published it in *The Friend,* January 13, 1844.[11] The man-

10 *Ibid.,* 10

11 Volume XVII, 125. Smith (107), Hull (297), Pennypacker (42), Marion D. Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia, 1908) 261, and others have printed the text in full in their works. Smith and Hull have printed facsimiles of the original document (facing p. 96 in Smith, and facing p. 298 in Hull); but the best facsimile rendition is in Naaman H. Keyser, et al., *History of Old Germantown* (Germantown, 1907) pp. 416, 417.

uscript is a petition one and one half pages long and concludes with this paragraph:

> This is from our Meeting in Germantown held ye 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrel's.
>
> gerret hendericks
> derick op de graeff
> Francis Daniell Pastorius
> Abraham op Den graef"

This last paragraph has two corrections, namely, "This was" changed to "This is"; and "our Monthly Meeting at Germantown" changed to "our meeting at Germantown." Hull concludes:

> There was no "monthly meeting" set up at this time in Germantown, but only a "preparative meeting" which was a constituent part of the monthly meeting at Dublin, a few miles distant. It is probable that the protest was adopted by *all* the members of the Germantown meeting, and that "garret henderiks" signed his name as the clerk to the copy to be sent to the monthly meeting, while the other three Friends signed theirs as members of the committee who were appointed to present the petition to the monthly meeting.[12]

Pennypacker and historians since have thought the handwriting of the manuscript to be that of Pastorius and have thus cited him as its author.[13] There is real question as to whether the handwriting is his, however, when one carefully compares the document with his signature. Hull points out that the language of the petition is very crude English for the linguist Pastorius, and Dutch takes preference over German in it.[14] Futhermore, a study of the signatures on the facsimile seems to reveal a difference between the signing of the first and the last three. Hendricks' signature bears some resemblance to the handwriting in the copy while the latter names seem to have been signed with a broader pen and blotted, thus suggesting Hull's opinion that Hendricks was the Clerk of the meeting and the latter three men, the op den Graeffs and Pastorius, were the members of the committee appointed by the Germantown meeting to present the petition at the Monthly Meeting.[15]

R. N. Williams, 2nd., Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, states in a letter to the author (February 26, 1958) that the Society has a facsimile copy measuring 8 x 13¼ inches.

12 *Op. cit.*, 294, 295. Some historians accept the tradition that this petition was signed in the house of Thones Kunders, part of which still stands at 5109 Germantown Avenue. There seems to be no evidence for this claim, other than a passing reference by one Thomas Chalkley, who, upon attending Thones Kunders' funeral in 1729, wrote: "The first meeting for worship was held at his house." (See Keyser, *op. cit.*, p. 414.) This gave rise to the belief that Friends first met here for worship upon their settlement of Germantown, but there is no evidence that the 1688 petition was signed in the latter place. Tradition claims that a small square table, to be seen today at the Germantown Mennonite Meetinghouse, 6121 Germantown Avenue, was the table upon which the petition was signed (N. B. Grubb, *The Mennonite Church of Germantown*, Philadelphi, 1906-booklet) The table is very old and appears to have been brought from Europe, but there is no evidence, other than this tradition, that it was so used.

13 Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 45. Also Learned, *op. cit.*, 260

14 *Op. cit.*, 296

15 When the petition came to the Quarterly Meeting, it was sent on to the Yearly Meeting by "the above-said Derick and the other *two* (Italics mine) mentioned therein."

THE SIGNERS

Though the petition probably represents the expression of the total meeting, nevertheless the signers, if they were clerk and committee to carry the petition, would understandably represent those who must have been vitally interested in the cause of protesting slavery. Could it not be that at least the latter three men, or one of them, had authored the petition or pressed its adoption upon the Germantown meeting?

The four signers of the petition, though originally from the widely separated cities of Krefeld and Kriegsheim, had met or corresponded with each other in Europe.[16] Hendricks, as leader of the small Kriegsheim group, had not arrived in Germantown until October 1685, but this was probably due to a delay in receiving passports from the Elector of the Palatinate. In March 1683 Pastorius spent a week visiting Hendricks and others in Kriegsheim on his way to America. Proceeding on he stopped at Krefeld some days later and visited with the op den Graeffs and others. Sometime after this Hendricks and the other Kriegsheimers communicated with the group in Krefeld and made an agreement to buy land from Derick Sipman and become co-tenants with Herman op den Graeff, the younger brother of Abraham and Derick. The Kriegsheimers, however, did not receive this deed until 1685, when they stopped at Krefeld on their way to America.

Gerrit Hendricks[17] or his ancestors had come from Holland and settled up the Rhine at Kriegsheim near Worms. He or his father had in all probability been Mennonites when Quaker missionaries came through Kriegsheim as early as 1657. Some time after this the father or son or both had been converted to Quakerism. By 1685 Gerrit Hendricks had taken up his father's leadership among the Quakers in Kriegsheim.

The op den Graeffs' grandfather, Herman op den Graeff, a Dutch Mennonite leader, had been a delegate from Krefeld to the Mennonite conference at Dordrecht in 1632 which adopted the Dort Confession of Faith. His son Issac was born in Krefeld in 1616, and sometime after 1657, when the first Quaker missionaries came through the Rhineland, had become converted along with his family to Quakerism.[18] After his death his widow, three sons—Derick, Herman, and Abraham—and his daughter Margrit were among the Krefeld pioneers to settle Germantown. Derick,[18] the eldest of the three

16 Bender, *op. cit., Mennonite Quarterly Review,* p. 239
17 Hull, *op. cit.,* 291-294
18 *Ibid.,* 209-211
19 *Ibid.,* 211-214

brothers, was the leader of the original thirteen families who settled Germantown. He and his brothers were among the eleven men who received a charter for "German Towne" from William Penn. Unlike his brothers he remained a Quaker until his decease in 1697, his name frequently appearing in the records of the Abington Friends Meeting. Abraham,[20] the youngest of the three, was considered the most skilled linen weaver of all Germantown. In 1686 he was among the competitors for the Governors' premium for the "finest piece of linnen Cloath." In addition to his convictions favoring the negro slave there is another episode[21] recorded which reveals his consideration for the Indians. During the first winter the only death in the young colony was that of the aged mother of the op den Graeffs. While Abraham[22] was sitting in the room writing the news of his mother's death, legend has it that an Indian squaw entered. Curiously she took up Abraham's pen to examine the strange instrument, whereupon he took her hand in his and guiding it traced the news of his mother's death across the page. The darker side of Abraham's life comes out in the notorious Keithian controversy among the Quakers which broke out in 1692.[23] Herman and Abraham, unlike eldest brother Derick, sided with Keith, who was later "disowned" by the Quaker Yearly Meeting. Probably in consequence of this, both younger brothers began to lose favor among their neigbors. Smith considers Abraham "rather a contentious individual who took a leading part in all the quarrels as well as the more creditable work of the settlement."[24] In the later years he was charged in court with the neglect of his fences, accused by complaints against the behavior of his children, and condemned because he "did mightily abuse the baliff in open Court" in 1703. For this latter insult he was fined 2 pounds and 10 shillings. The next year Abraham sued David Scherkes, an old neighbor, for saying that "no honest man would be in his (op den Graeff's) company." The jury evidently concluded that Scherkes had told the truth for they brought in a verdict favoring the defendant.[25] These successive troubles apparently induced him and his wife to sell their brick house and 828 acres in Germantown and move out to the rising Mennonite colony along the Perkiomen Creek at Skippack. It seems that in these closing days of his life he had returned to the Mennonite faith. He is buried in the Mennonite burial ground at Skippack.[26]

20 *Ibid.*, 216-218
21 Smith, *op. cit.*, 92, 93
22 Hull, *op. cit.*, 211, for unstated reasons considers Herman op den Graeff the author of this letter, but acknowledges that its authorship is also attributed to Abraham, his brother.
23 *Ibid.*, 217-218
24 *Op. cit.*, 101
25 *Ibid.*, 115
26 *Ibid.*, 101

The best known name among the signers is that of Francis Daniel Pastorius,[27] but as previously mentioned his significance has been over-emphasized in Germantown history. Through William Furley, Penn's Rotterdam land agent for Pennsylvania, many in Holland and the Rhineland had heard of the possibilities of emigrating to Pennsylvania. Among these many, three scattered groups, two of them Quakers with Mennonite backgrounds at Krefeld and Kriegsheim, and the third a group of Pietists at Frankfurt-am-Main, each unknown to the others, became interested. These Frankfurt Pietists decided late in 1682 to establish a colony, and probably upon communicating with Furley may have been notified that the groups at Kriegsheim and Krefeld had already considered the same thing. Pastorius, the only one to emigrate from the Frankfurt Company, visited Gerrit Hendricks and the Kriegsheim group just before he left for the New World, and later, on his way, he visited at Krefeld and made the acquaintance of the op den Graeff brothers. Pastorius arrived in Philadelphia in August 1683, a few weeks before the other Germantown settlers. Although as a man of letters he assisted them in plotting the land for the new village of Germantown, he did not go with them in the fall of 1683 but chose to remain in Philadelphia until sometime after May 1685. That Pastorius served as a trained leader in the new settlement need not be minimized, but the fact remains that he was not the founder of the settlement, as Bender has so well put it:

> Pastorius as the man of the world, the man of education, the lawyer, and as perhaps the most aggressive personality in the group, became the political and public leader of the group. But it was the craftsmen from Crefeld and Kriegsheim who did the actual pioneering while Pastorius waited in Philadelphia for the new town to spring forth from the hard earth.[28]

Though a German Pietist by background, a broadness of religious faith seems to have characterized Pastorius from early days. He seems to have wholeheartedly thrown his lot, economically, socially, and religiously, with the Germantown settlers after 1685, when it appeared to him that his Pietist friends of Frankfurt were not going to make good their promise to settle in Pennsylvania. Hull feels his acceptance of Quakerism might even be dated from the time of his voyage to America, at which time he became an intimate friend of the eminent Quaker Thomas Lloyd.[29] It appears that Pastorius remained an active member of the Friends Meeting the rest of his

27 Hull, *op. cit.*, 181-184. Cf. Learned, *op. cit.*, 223, 224
28 *Op. cit., MQR*, 246
29 *Op. cit.*, 184

life, serving as schoolmaster of the Quaker school in both Philadelphia and Germantown.

The "legend" of Pastorius being the founder of Germantown is due in part to his own writings, in which he naturally placed himself and his work in the best light, and in part due to the work of early historians of Germantown, such as Seidensticker, who wrote from a Germanic bias. It was John Greenleaf Whittier, the famous Quaker poet, who upon reading the writings of Seidensticker gave tremendous impetus to the Pastorius "legend" by writing the poem "The Pennsylvania Pilgrim" in 1872.[30]

Such poetic praise, genuine as it may be, has unconsciously fed the fire of the Pastorius legend down through the years. As late as 1920 and 1931 monuments were erected in Germantown and Krefeld respectively, in which Pastorius and the German element, inaccurately eclipse the real Gremantown of the Dutch Quaker-Mennonite founders,[31] although it is true that the territory of the Lower Rhine from which most of the early German pioneers came, was and still is politically a part of Germany.

THE PETITION

The text of the 1688 petition, with its quaint spelling, as given by Hull, reads as follows (pp. 297-299):

> This is to y^e^ Monthly Meeting held at Richard Worrell's.
> These are the reasons why we are against the traffick of men Body, as followeth: Js there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearfull & fainthearted are many on sea when they see a strange vessel, being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for slaves into Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea rather is it worse for them, w^ch^ say they are Christians; for we hear that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent; and that many of them are stollen. Now, tho' they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; making no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, w^ch^ is right & reasonable; here ought to be lickewise liberty of y^e^ body, except of evildoers, w^ch^ is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. Jn Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sacke; and here there are those oppressed w^ch^ are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not committ adultery, some doe committ adultery in others, separating wifes from their housbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men.

30 *Op. cit.*, 19
31 Hull, *op. cit.*, 259 and pictures facing pp. 258, 260

Oh! doe consider well this thinge, you who doe it; if you would be done at this manner? and if it is does according Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, and who shall maintain this your cause or plaid for it? Truely we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz: that christians have liberty to practise this thinge. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband from their wifes & children. Being now this is not done at that manner, we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible; and such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye Robbers & and sett free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsilvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sacke in other Countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quackers doe rule in their Province; & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evill?

If once these slaves, (wch they say are so wicked and stubbern men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters and mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians have such a liberty to do so. to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie lickewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fairful thing that men should be handeld so in Pennsilvania.

"This is from our Meeting at Germantown held ye 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivred to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrel's.

gerret hendericks
derick op de graeff
Francis Daniell Pastorius
Abraham op Den graef."

A careful reading of the petition reveals five main arguments:[32] (1) Slaves are brought here "against their will & consent, and that many of them are stollen." (2) Slaveholders cause slaves to commit adultery "separating wifes from their husbands, and giving them to others and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men." (3) Slavery "mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quakers doe here handel men, licke

32 The author has used the text as rendered by Hull, *op. cit.*, 297-299

they handel their ye Cattel; and for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither . . . ." (4) "Have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?" (5) If it is permissible to hold slaves, "we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, . . . that Christians have such liberty to do so." One cannot escape the simple and solid reasoning of this document. It is not boisterous or blatant in its demands, but a genuine, quiet earnestness in its pleadings touches the heart. Its words are concise, well-chosen and few. In the scope of these few words, slavery is not only severely indicted on the five counts listed above, but lest these be interpreted only as economic arguments "weak in comparison to the religious objections to slavery" as Drake asserts,[33] the entire petition is suffused with allusions to Christ's Golden Rule (Matt. 7:12), such as "There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves," and again, "Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner?" and again, "How fearful & fainthearted are many on sea . . . (that) they should be tacken and sold for Slaves into Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe?" and again, "Oh! doe consider well this thinge, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner?" or again, "Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us then if men should robb or steal us away & sell us for slaves to strange countries."

How timeless and sweeping is this indictment of the sinful human heart! These pervasive arguments were boldly directed to their own fellow-religionists, guilty before the bar of Christian truth! How all-embracing seems this protest against slavery compared to the more cautious suggestions of Fox and Edmundson. We repeat, there can be no question that the Germantown Petition of 1688 was a protest against the slavery system, and that it was squarely directed toward those who held slaves. Though Fox first enunciated the evils of slavery and Edmundson first raised the issue, should not this still rightfully be called the first protest against slavery in America?

THE MOTIVATION

Controversy has always raged over the national origins and religious affiliations of the pioneers of Germantown, and the rediscovery of this petition in 1844 occupied a central place on the stage of this controversy. Beyond question Hull proved his case that these pioneers were not German (with the exception of Pastorius), but were people of Dutch background with a few of Swiss origin.[34] Be-

33 *Op. cit.*, 15
34 *Op. cit.*, 178-181

yond question Hull and Drake have proved their point that the petition arose out of the framework of a Quaker Meeting, and that all signers were practicing Quakers.[35] But, granting the latter, the real motivation prompting this little band of Dutch Quakers to boldly raise their voices for the first time in protest against the growing social giant of slavery in the land and among their co-religionists is a moot question.

Drake has gone to pains to outline the previous history of anti-slavery feeling among Quakers such as Fox and Edmundson.[36] But there is no evidence that either man or his writings influenced these Germantown pioneers, who read and spoke in another language. Hull points out that Benjamin Furley, Penn's agent in Rotterdam, had suggested to Penn six years before the Germantown protest, at the very time when the Germantown pilgrims were passing through Rotterdam, that he should add the following "law" to those he had drawn up for Pennsylvania: "Let no blacks be brought in directly. And if any come out of Virginia, Maryld. in families that have formerly bought them elsewhere let them be declared . . . free at 8 years end." Penn the Quaker declined this suggested law, but Hull's conjecture that Furley may well have had conversations on this same subject when he entertained Pastorius and the other Germantown settlers in his home in Rotterdam before speeding them across the ocean, thus influencing them to later issue this protest, sounds more plausible, though there is no evidence to sustain this.[37]

Granted that Furley may have in part motivated these settlers to pen this protest against slavery, it needs to be added that Furley himself, English by birth, lived most of his life in Holland and himself was influenced by continental influences.[38] In sharp contrast to the Quakers of the British Isles, the Mennonites of the continent had an unbroken record of never holding slaves, and with the possible exception of Cornelius Bom, no Mennonite or Mennonite-turned-Quaker ever held slaves in Germantown or any place in America.[39] In later years John Woolman in his *Journal* tells the story of an early Mennonite in America who refused to lodge with an acquaintance because he held slaves.[40]

Is it not probable that the motivation for this Germantown protest rose more from their earlier Mennonite background than from their more recent Quaker affiliation? This seems all the more likely

35 Hull, *op. cit.*, 184-188, 294; and Drake, *op. cit.*, 11, 12
36 *Op. cit.*, 5-10
37 *Op. cit.*, 296, 297
38 *Ibid.*, 328, 329
39 Smith, *op. cit.*, 109, 110. Cp. Drake, *op. cit.*, 4 (footnote 5)
40 John Woolman, *The Journal of John Woolman*, Edited by John G. Whittier, (Boston, 1871) 122, 123

when one realizes that these practicing "Quakers" were in reality rebelling against the main stream of accepted Quaker practice of the time. It is important to note the detachment they feel from the term "Quakers" and those to whom they speak. For instance, the petition states that those in Europe hear (Italics mine) "that *ye Quakers* doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel." And again, "... ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner *ye Quakers* doe rule in their Province; & most of them doe loock upon *us* with an envious eye." These but illustrate a general spirit of detachment one feels throughout the petition between "us" (the petitioners) and "ye Quackers" (the Quakers).

Perhaps it may be said (to employ Hull's own reasoning) that, since these were not German people, but Dutch people living in Germany, so these were not real Quakers in their motivations, but "Mennonites" worshiping and participating in the Quaker Meeting. A letter written by Rudolfus Varick, Reformed pastor visiting in Pennsylvania, relates that by 1690 there were Mennonites in Germantown "very much opposed to Quakerism" who, with some Lutherans and Baptists, were meeting apart "every Sunday when a Menist, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon. . . ."[41] This Dirck Keyser and William Rittenhouse, the first Mennonite minister in Germantown, are known to have arrived in Germantown in 1688, the year of the petition.[42] The coming of these two leaders who had never been Quakers may have given impetus to the separate establishment of Mennonite worship. The point is this: Mennonite thought and influence was beginning to assert itself in Germantown by 1688, and this may have encouraged these former Mennonites in the Quaker Meeting to issue this protest to their fellow-religionists.

Smith's conclusion that "It is evident that three of the signers of this protest owed their opposition to slavery to their Mennonite training, . . . certainly not to any encouragement received from English Quakers,"[43] may be too generalized and unfair to possible Quaker influences from Fox, Edmundson, Furley, or others, but it is entirely probable that the main motivation for their protest to slavery came from their Mennonite background, not their more recent affiliation with Quakerism.

THE REACTION

That the petition was both unassailable in its arguments and yet foreign to the Quaker will of the day may be seen in the "hands off" policy it met in the Quaker Meetings. The clerk of the Monthly

41 Bender, *op. cit.*, *MQR*, 230
42 *Ibid.*, 236, 237 and 233
43 *Op. cit.*, 110

Meeting at Dublin[44] records in a minute at the bottom of the petition that the matter was considered but was found "so weighty that we think it not Expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do Rather commit it to ye consideration of ye Quarterly meeting; ye tennor of it being nearly related to ye truth." In a second minute at the bottom of the petition, the clerk of the Quarterly Meeting records that again it was considered "a thing of too great a weight for this meeting to determine" and off again it was sent by "Derick and the other two mentioned therin" to be placed before the Yearly Meeting. The minute of the Yearly Meeting reads as follows:

> At a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington (New Jersey) the 5th day of the 7th month, 1688.
> A Paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of Buying and keeping Negroes.[45] It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive judgment in the Case, it having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and therefore at Present they forbear It."[46]

Too many Friends owned slaves. Too many Friends in "other parts" (i.e., other colonies) lived off the labor of slaves. Following the ancient Quaker practice of arriving at decisions in Meeting on the basis of unanimity or near unanimity rather than majority vote, they justified their silence on these grounds. Thus the protest was too true to be refuted, yet too disturbing to be accepted. The Quaker mind had not yet arrived at the keen conviction which troubled these Dutch settlers at Germantown with their Mennonite-like consciences.

Whittier in his poem imagines Pastorius returning from the Meeting where their petition has met resistance. He shares his heart-grief with his wife working with her plants in the garden:

> . . . So even our feeble word
> For the dumb slaves the startled meeting heard
> As if a stone its quiet waters stirred,
>
> And, as the clerk ceased reading, there began
> A ripple of dissent which downward ran
> In widening circles, as from man to man.
>
> Somewhat was said of running before sent,
> Of tender fear that some their guide outwent,
> Troublers of Israel. . . .

44 Hull in a footnote (p. 294) considers this meetingplace to have been "in Francfort, later Oxford Township, Philadelphia County, on the site of the present Trinity Church."

45 "Negroes" has been substituted for the word "slaves" used the protest.

46 These Minutes from the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings are taken from Hull, *op. cit.*, 295, 296.

> And while the meeting smothered our poor plea
> With cautious phrase, a Voice there seemed to be,
> 'As ye have done to these ye do to me!'
>
> So it all passed; and the old tithe went on
> Of anise, mint, and commin, till the sun
> Set, leaving still the weighter work undone.[47]

Whittier further imagines his wife comforting him with the thought that though the "vision tarrieth" there will come a day when their petition shall be fulfilled; perhaps in the lifetime of their infant son beside whose little bed they now stand:

> . . . "Dear heart," she said, "if we
> Must bearers of a heavy burden be,
> Our boy, God willing, yet the day shall see
>
> When, from the gallery to the farthest seat,
> Slave and slave-owner shall no longer meet,
> But all sit equal at the Master's feet."[48]

This day did come to the Quaker fellowship, but not without a century of struggle within the consciences of Quakers.[49] Shortly after the Germantown petition, the Quaker schismatic George Keith and his followers published the first printed American anti-slavery tract in 1693. The bold stand taken by such an apostate group understandably did not immediately promote anti-slavery sentiment among the Quakers who had disowned Keith. However, by 1696 the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting advised its members to "be Careful" of their Negroes and to bring them to meeting, and taking a small step against the foreign slave trade suggested "that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes." This action did not prohibit importing slaves; rather it served to discourage those who were in the business. Still a far cry from disapproval of slave dealing and even farther from slave owning, the beginning had nonetheless been made.[50] [51]

In 1742 a young Quaker storekeeper in near-by Mt. Holly, New Jersey, felt his conscience twinge one day when asked to write out a bill of sale for a slave. This was the starting point for a life-long testimony against slavery in this young man, John Woolman. In contrast to the angry denunciations of the radicals, he had a mystic capacity to kindle the vision of God's truth in others, tempered with

47 Whittier, *op. cit.*, 24, 25
48 *Ibid.*, 28
49 For the subsequent development of anti-slavery sentiment among Quakers, and the consequent effects Quakerism had on the abolition of slavery in the United States, the author has borrowed heavily from Drake's definitive study, *op. cit.*, 14 ff.
50-51 In the early 1700's a number of independent voices against slavery began to arise here and there in Quakerism, including radicals like Ralph Sandiford and Benjamin Lay of Philadelphia.

an ability to clearly lay out his position with simple, strong persuasion. Largely through the long untiring efforts of Woolman, the 1758 Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, after a protracted debate over the slaves, agreed "to set them at liberty, making a Christian provision for them." Thereafter dealing in slaves was almost entirely abandoned among Quakers and many who held slaves set them free. Some still justified themselves in the practice, until the Yearly Meeting in 1774 directed that within two years the right of membership would be denied to those persisting in holding slaves. Thus by the eventful year of 1776 in American history, when Thomas Jefferson penned his famous words in the Declaration of Independence "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" and, in the first draft of the same document included a denunciation of King George for imposing the slave trade on the colonies, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting marked its final abolition of slavery.

Emancipation of slaves in the rest of the Quaker Yearly Meetings of America proceeded rapidly thereafter at an estimated cost of 50,000 Pounds to the Quaker owners,[52] many of whom, in addition, offered assistance to rehabilitate their former slaves, and even financial compensation for the past years of forced labor.[53] By way of contrast to the popular dictum that "no ruling class ever voluntarily relinquishes its power over others," Ernest Sutherland Bates has remarked: "Americans might at least remember the American Quakers."[54] In the great story of Negro slavery and its abolition, Quakers played the greatest role of constructive leadership. Even Abraham Lincoln was influenced by them[55]as revealed in his remarkable exchange of letters with Eliza Gurney, a New Jersey Quaker. In recent years the great Quaker story has begun to be uncovered.[56]

But what relation does our Germantown Protest have to all of this? Shall we conclude that when this petition was "tabled by the Yearly Meeting of 1688 and passed into the archives all was lost and forgotten until its rediscovery in 1844? Shall we conclude that these Germantown Friends lapsed into silence and then were heard no more? No! Five years after the death of one of the Krefeld pioneers, Rynor Tyson, in 1745, a great-grandson Elisha Tyson was born in Germantown, who later removed to Baltimore, Maryland, where in the midst of a strong slavery community he devoted his wealth and influence, and became renowned as an abolitionist defender of the

52 *Ibid.*, 84
53 *Ibid.*, 76-78
54 *American Faith* (New York, 1940) 204, quoted by Drake, *op. cit.*, 76
55 Drake, *op. cit.*, 199. See footnote 85
56 *Ibid.*, Chapters V-IX and Bibliographical note, 232 ff.

Negro slave. "Freedom for the slave" may well have been a familiar topic in that family from the days of the 1688 petition.[57]

There is no evidence in John Woolman's *Journal* or in subsequent Quaker anti-slavery literature that the 1688 Germantown Protest was known and used. Indeed Drake feels that the earlier writings of George Fox and the letter of William Edmundson "surpassed in ultimate effect the unavailing effort of the little group in Germantown."[58] There is a sense in which this is probably true in so far as these words may seem to apply in later history, but may there not be a more remote and deeper influence not recorded on the pages of history?[59]

Drake admits:

> Nevertheless, among all the colonists in America, these Dutch and German Friends deserve full credit as pioneers of the Spirit. They were the first Americans to see slavery as it really was.[60]

With Hull we see the hidden and broader effects of the Germantown Petition in that

> it sowed the seed which was to ripen in the next century, in the time of John Woolman, the Quaker apostle of freedom, into complete emancipation of the slaves among the Quakers; and the century after that into the nation-wide abolition of slavery by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, another scion of a Pennsylvania Quaker family.[61]

Or as Pennypacker's oft-quoted statement concerning Germantown and the 1688 Petition gives it,

> There was a rustic murmur in the little burgh that year, which time has shown to have been the echo of a great wave that rolls around the world. The event probably at the time produced no commotion, and attracted little attention. It may well be that the consciousness of having won immortality never dawned upon any of the participants. . . . A little rill there started which further on became an immense torrent, and whenever hereafter men trace analytically the causes which led to Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Appomattox, they will begin with the tender consciences of the linen weavers and husbandmen of Germantown.[62]

When Pennypacker wrote this in 1879, the echoes of the Civil War, of "Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Appomattox," were still resounding through the land. Today we realize that the "little rill" has still not reached its flood tide. Since the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 that Negro segregation is illegal, the whole past century of struggle—

57 *Ibid.*, 118-120; and Hull, *op. cit.*, 222
58 *Ibid.*, p. 13
59 When Pennsylvania Quakers presented to the newly-formed Congress of the United States its first anti-slavery petition in 1790, this received the support of Pennsylvania's German members of congress.
60 *Op. cit.*, 13, 14
61 *Op. cit.*, 212
62 *Op. cit.*, 41, 42

the miseries of the Civil War, the miseries of all the subsequent years between North and South with its black plague of segregation and misunderstanding—have come upon us with new force. In a sense the Civil War is still being fought, and like The Hundred Years War seems incapable of ending. When we realize that this one evil, slavery, has been one of the greatest curses to the unity and growth of American freedom for the past 200 years, and now in an age of internationalism one of our greatest condemnations from the rest of the world, then do we begin to truly understand the sweeping significance of this "immense torrent" of our own day which started as a "little rill" with "the tender consciences of the linen weavers and husbandmen of Germantown."

(*Continued from page 4*)

WE CELEBRATE THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTIETH ANNIversary of the famous Germantown Anti-Slavery Protest of 1688 by the publication of the comprehensive article by J. Herbert Fretz, which includes a reproduction of the authentic original text of the Protest. Fretz places the document and the event in its proper setting in Colonial America as well as in Quakerism and Mennonitism. It clearly was not a Mennonite document, but its spirit was just as clearly Mennonite and due to the earlier Mennonite background of the signers.

Even if the Protest clearly did not have any significant influence on the development of later anti-slavery sentiment in the United States, it is a fine testimony to the spiritual understanding of the first Germantown settlers.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE RELIEF AND SERVICE PROGRAM AND MENNONITE MISSIONS

PAUL N. KRAYBILL*

BACKGROUND

The Anabaptists were very clear in their conviction that they were only stewards of their worldly possessions and that if there was need they would devote all they owned to the service of their brethren. There is some evidence that this actually was a requirement for baptism. This kind of brotherhood and sharing was practiced during the early years of the Anabaptist movement and there is historical evidence that it has continued throughout the intervening years since that era.

More recently, less than sixty years ago, it was a famine relief project that opened the way for the first overseas mission project of the Mennonite Church[1] of North America.[2] Coming as it did after a long period of dormant church life, it signaled the beginning of a much more active program of relief and missions.

Still later, in 1920, the Russian famine need prompted the founding of the Mennonite Central Committee as an organization for inter-Mennonite relief service. This organization found various opportunities to serve, but it was not until the 1939-1945 period that a catastrophic war challenged it into action on a much larger scale.

During this later period a great deal was written outlining the philosophical and theological basis for relief work. World War I and the depression of the early 1930's had done much to crush the influence of the liberal "social gospel" movement. Emergency relief was considered completely valid, not as social action, but as a compelling expression of Christian love, the positive aspect of nonresistance, an alternative to war. It was deemed imperative as one of the requirements of obedience to the will and spirit of Christ. It was a means of witness which helped to interpret the Gospel to those who were disillusioned and distressed by war and calamity. It prepared the way for mission and evangelistic outreach when the emergency had passed.

There was some hesitation and question concerning inter-Men-

* Paul N. Kraybill is Executive Secretary of the Eastern Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities.

1 The writer of necessity refers in this paper to that constituent body of MCC known as the Mennonite Church rather than the Mennonite brotherhood in total.

2 Sending of the first foreign missionaries of the Mennonite Church to India in 1899 was prompted by the desire to minister to extensive famine feeds.

nonite co-operation, but this came to be accepted as the most practical and satisfactory way to carry on a program of emergency relief.

At about this same time Mennonite research was beginning to give body to the concept of discipleship as believed and practiced by the Anabaptists.[3] They considered the essence of Christianity to be the transformation of life through discipleship and following Christ in contrast to the Reformers' emphasis on the experience of justification by faith. Instead of a primary concern for personal salvation, there was rather a definite commitment to discipleship and obedience, an outward expression of an inward experience. The church was a brotherhood rather than an institution or a vehicle solely for personal piety or the preaching of the Word. The Anabaptists were pessimistic about the socio-political order and considered it relatively evil. Their "kingdom theology" and the concept of "two worlds" led to the conclusion that the only way in which the social and political pattern could be altered was through the establishing of a new Christian social order in the form of the church and bringing more and more men to a new life of discipleship in response to the gospel of Jesus Christ. For them the New Testament was not a blueprint for the renovation of society but rather the ethic for a redeemed life. The tension between the world with its system and habits and the disciple with his commitment to a higher allegiance would inevitably lead to suffering, and this was accepted as a logical and certain result for those who shared in such a fellowship.

Thus at the end of the first twenty-five years of inter-Mennonite relief work a satisfying concept of relief work had been established that was clearly within the tradition of New Testament Christianity and Anabaptist discipleship.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

In the years since 1945 there have been many new developments which have a very distinct bearing on the church's program and philosophy of relief and service as it relates to missions.

The insistence on a practical expression of the Christian life has created in the minds of youth a deep service motivation which is quite commendable. To satisfy this urge a great deal of emphasis has been placed on social service, which makes possible a satisfying contribution to human need in contrast to technical or business vocations. This trend has been hastened by the urbanization of the church and the search for a new category of occupational pursuits to replace the rural vocations of a generation ago. Perhaps of even

3 See H. S. Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter *MQR*) (April 1944) 18:67-88.

greater significance has been the Selective Service Act, which brings most young men into some form of service for a two-year period. It was this requirement that challenged the church to find service opportunities and that led many into such pursuits independent of the church.

Thus in a few short decades the Mennonite Church has swung from a fear of the "social gospel" to a rather general acceptance of social service as a legitimate and worthy occupation for the Christian. One must, of course, note that this does not mean an acceptance of the basic assumptions of social action but rather a continued and extended expression of the service motivation.

Another phenomenon has been the remarkable mission outreach of the recent past. This has precipitated the emergence of national churches of the Mennonite faith in various overseas countries. Any consideration of inter-Mennonite international relief work must be cognizant of this fact.

The immediate emergency occasioned by World War II has passed but other major emergencies continue. Furthermore, there are continued physical needs which may not necessarily be considered of emergency origin but which represent continued suffering and destitution on a tremendous scale.

The government and numerous voluntary agencies are increasingly undertaking programs of foreign aid, relief, and rehabilitation. Part of this program of governmental assistance has been the practice of making relief goods available to voluntary and church agencies for distribution. Furthermore, many foreign national governments are assuming more responsibility for the welfare needs of their citizens.

There has also been a transition in MCC program from emergency relief to long range rehabilitation, which not only involves war sufferers but also other needy groups, including service to several Protestant projects or areas.[4] It must be admitted, of course, that this thin line between emergency and long range needs is quite difficult to fix, but obviously many of MCC's projects are carried out on a continuing basis. Additionally, in true Mennonite fashion the use of material aid has continued and represents a substantial part of the program. A great amount of it apparently is distributed indirectly through other agencies in addition to that which is handed out by MCC personnel. In its readiness to be of help to other agencies,

4 This could be illustrated by such projects as assistance in rebuilding a Protestant school, Karlsschule, in Vienna, and medical and agricultural assistance to the Christian churches of Timor and Halmahera, Indonesia.

MCC also has followed the practice of seconding personnel to such organizations.

THE RELATION OF RELIEF AND WITNESS

We continue to believe that sharing of material goods with those in need cannot be neglected by those who would live the life of a disciple. In a day when the contrasts between our material and technical resources and the world's need are so marked, this form of service takes on particular urgency. We deeply believe in the significance of the cross in the life of the believer and that this means that our lives must be sacrificed in the service of others. We reject the assumption that service is a sacrament and that thereby men automatically become recipients of grace. We do not believe that by suffering we can redeem men, but we can by our deeds of service symbolize in a realistic and compelling fashion our testimony that the conflicts and frustrations of men are basically spiritual and can be healed.

We believe that a disturbed and confused world needs concrete evidence that the love of Christ is effective and meaningful and that we must witness against the evil that surrounds us. We believe that we can best prove our sincerity and genuine concern by acts of love "in the name of Christ." We reject the principles of purely social action and assert that our calling is to lead men to redemption and into the brotherhood of the church. We are pessimistic about man and society but insist that we think in terms of building the society of the redeemed rather than attempting to deal with the corporate evil that plagues the socio-political world.

We have admitted the validity of relief as a witness in and of itself, but this raises some very searching questions. Is it right to serve if we can't witness? Is it sufficient to serve without witnessing even though we could witness? What prevents our service from becoming pure humanitarianism? Is long range rehabilitation just as legitimate as emergency relief? If we profess that service is a witness —what do we expect to result from that witness? What is the relation of witness and service, of word and deed?

We deeply believe in witness and accept the basic assumption that the primary purpose of the church is to extend the kingdom. It is manifest that our service points men to God, but are we not guilty of a dangerous omission if we point but do not lead? The basic command to witness was the command to use the Word, to preach. Service elaborates and interprets the theme of redemption but of itself is incomplete and inadequate. A deed of love may reconstitute a man physically, resolve his tensions and even prick his spirit. That

man, however, becomes only a more respectable sinner if the Word does not accompany the deed. The Word without the deed is often barren and fruitless, but the deed without the Word is potentially dangerous. Unless the Word and the deed co-exist, the recipient is defrauded and the possibility of redemption is frustrated.

The disciple who takes his cross and denies himself to serve others thereby foreshadows and symbolizes something of the true nature of reconciliation. It is not enough, however, to gaze at the symbol. It is not a sacramental device. The fact of redemption thus displayed must be accompanied by the Word so that it can be grasped and accepted. But even that will not suffice. After a man has accepted the Word, the disciple is then responsible to bring that man into the brotherhood so that he can share to the fullest the experience of redemption.

The question is not one of the rightness of relief and service but rather how it shall relate to our emphasis on the primacy of evangelism and church building. How much of our resources of funds and personnel should be channeled into service that is not mission related? We could easily become a first class humanitarian agency. We could win a reputation for noble service "in the the name of Christ." While such service is not without its reward and result, we do risk a misplaced emphasis that contradicts the basis for our service.

Relief is not only a question of witness but also a matter of stewardship of our personnel resources. The demands of a social service experience or career are less exacting than those of missionary service. Some may not agree, but no one will deny that a service organization such as MCC is not the church and that it is easier to witness by silent deed that represents a needed service than by word of mouth which is not always so happily accepted. It is this basic defect in a non-mission related program that threatens to break down its idealism. This will undoubtedly have an influence on the minds of youth who are confronted with two types of church program. An illustration of this is the tendency for mission boards to be short of personnel while MCC needs to seek out openings to place its volunteers.

It is a basic assumption that every believer is a witness and that this witness logically results in conversion and admission into the brotherhood. All of our members in their home church relationships are able to do this. It is a bit ironical that in a program of definite witness value this is impossible. This is not to deny that a witness is possible and is encouraged. As noted previously, however, this witness is not complete unless it results in church building, which is

manifestly impossible in a united service program. It is this frustration that not only affects the worker in his service but threatens to influence the future of our church and throw the focus onto social service instead of evangelism. It is a very distinct possibility that this will lead us more and more away from the "offence of the cross" into a type of service that has a great deal of moral influence but little redemptive value in terms of establishing a brotherhod of disciples.

There is additionally the problem of maintaining relationships between the home church and the worker when he does not go as a commissioned representative of his particular church group. The churches are eager to make available to MCC persons of such caliber and quality that they can go as worthy representatives of the church group from which they come. It is evident that MCC desires this and is deeply concerned about it, but somehow in the process of finding a place of service some find it easy to elect service under MCC and escape the greater demands of church related service and in so doing unfortunately stand in danger of isolation from their home church.

TOWARDS A SOLUTION

There is a very significant role for MCC in continuing to serve the churches as a representative body. We believe that this is the only practical way to maintain a mobile and effective emergency relief organization. Likewise it represents the only way for a realistic partnership in serving our Mennonite brethren in other countries who cannot be considered the exclusive responsibility of any one Mennonite group.

The relationship between MCC and its constituent bodies needs to be such that this will truly be a partnership in which the two complement each other and neither trespasses on, duplicates or contradicts the other. MCC actually is nothing more or less than a representative body making possible a medium for jointly carrying out projects that the individual bodies cannot or do not wish to do separately.

We do not believe that MCC wants to do anything but what the churches want it to do. However, the constituent bodies must accept responsibility for staying close to MCC so that effective representation and communication will be possible. Perhaps the pattern of representation will need to be strengthened. MCC in its varied programs touches the churches at many points. An effective way will need to be found to enable representation and co-ordination, not only at the highest level but also on the level of the different services. The MCC in a measure has met this problem by use of

sections or advisory bodies. This has provided a realistic means of advice and representation in some cases, but in others it has amounted to little more than reporting. The churches will need to be more clear in defining the role they want MCC to assume for them and then wholeheartedly support MCC in carrying out that assignment. We recognize this as a challenge not only to the MCC but to the churches as well. MCC should not exist and expand in spite of the churches, but neither should the churches bypass and evade their responsibility to help formulate and guide policy and practice.

Mennonite Aid represents a basic form of relief—service to brethren of "the household of faith." The case for this is completely clear in the Scriptures and needs no elaboration here. This is not emergency relief necessarily, and will need to be interpreted to the constituency in such a way as to win support and understanding.

As an example of more effective representation it would seem that the mission boards should be more closely related to the overseas program of MCC. For several reasons this would seem expedient, including particularly the opportunity for sharing and co-ordination it would provide. It is our understanding that by and large relief projects should develop into mission projects. Factors and decisions in such transitions can be handled much more efficiently and effectively if the whole programming is shared. The increasing scope of both MCC and the mission boards would certainly justify this kind of integration, just as it seems essential between denominational mission boards.

We believe that relief projects could be turned over to mission boards more quickly than has been the case in the past. Furthermore, as soon as agreement is reached as to which board shall take responsibility, that board should begin to work closely with MCC in helping to channel an increasing proportion of its members into the team at that place.

Material aid is, of course, a part of Foreign Relief and Services. But special consideration will need to be given to this kind of ministry. It is certainly self-evident that this service should represent more than government has to offer. Direct distribution of material aid by MCC workers in areas of confirmed need should certainly continue. The familiar label "In the name of Christ" is most commendable but it does not automatically compensate for the indirect mass distribution of goods via other agencies and channels. A continued awareness of the problems and inherent dangers will help to keep this kind of service meaningful and effective.

Mission boards are particularly sensitive about indiscriminate

material aid and other forms of assistance. This arises from a desire to see the local churches develop true self-dependence. It would appear that MCC has been more generous in its service to needy people of other church groups than the church has been to the young Mennonite churches abroad.

We must also insist that self-help is a most vital avenue of service just as appropriate as material aid or more so. The indiscriminate giving of material aid can very easily produce unfavorable habits of dependence and complacency and even result in negative reactions. Self-help places the burden of responsibility on the recipient and greatly lessens the possibility of unworthy motives.

We recognize the obligation of MCC to share administratively in certain co-operative projects and that this may warrant the seconding of personnel to other organizations. Without suggesting its elimination, we would urge a re-evaluation of its significance and place in terms of witness value, and in terms of the influence such assignments would have on the worker thus isolated from the program and fellowship of his sending church.

Perhaps in the total overseas program a greater attempt should be made to make material aid and specialized personnel available to Mennonite mission projects or self-help projects undertaken by various boards or to other Mennonite national groups rather than to non-Mennonite organizations where the witness is greatly lessened.

We have a very significant responsibility to our people to avoid any appearance of competition in our programs of missions and relief. There will need to be careful co-ordination of publicity and recruitment procedures, particularly those that proceed directly from MCC to our constituencies. MCC's present policy of checking a volunteer's church group for recommendations before accepting him for service is a very commendable one. This also provides the constituent group an opportunity to contact the individual and establish good understanding and relationships before and during his service. We trust that this will continue to be meaningful both to us and to them.

Voluntary Service represents a composite of other problems already reviewed. It is not clear that MCC VS has always worked within the original intent and purpose as understood by the constituent groups. The constituent groups might assess and review their ability and desire to provide adequate church-related VS programs for their members. This could then be the prelude to a reconsideration of how MCC might supplement this kind of service, which should be closely tied to church and mission.

All of this is herewith presented out of a sincere appreciation for the function and service of MCC and out of a deep desire to see it continue in the future as an effective tool of service that will strengthen and enhance the witness of the church. We believe that MCC must keep closely integrated with the total program of the church. It would be most unfortunate if our witness and our relief were to move farther apart rather than closer together. We do believe, however, that in further careful discussion and sharing an effective program can be continued in which our goals will be realized.

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John A. Hostetler, *God Uses Ink*
Reviewed by Samuel A. Yoder

William I. Schreiber, *The Fate of the Prussian Mennonites*
Reviewed by Harold S. Bender

Grete Mecensffy, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*
Reviewed by Harold S. Bender

ANABAPTISTS IN FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN

GERHARD HEIN*

A report of the Palatinate government office at Germersheim on the Rhine, dated Aug. 1, 1603, makes the following comprehensive statement concerning the spread of Anabaptism in the areas adjoining the Palatinate:

> Otherwise there are said to be some seventy Anabaptists in the neighborhood in the mountains below Zweibrücken, the bishopric of Speyer, the graviate of Löwenstein, and [the estates of] several nobles, who meet every two weeks in the Modenbach Valley and annually observe the ceremony of the breaking of bread, for which all the Anabaptists except Switzerland come, from as far as below Frankfort, about 300, and spread their error.[1]

Frankfort a.M. is here considered the northern or northeastern border of the great South German Anabaptist area, which extended from Switzerland and Alsace to the Moselle and the Main. Thus it has probably become customary to regard Frankfort as the northern edge of Swiss-South German Anabaptism and Mennonitism.

At the time of the Reformation, however, the Anabaptist movement burst into flame not only at the southern and northern borders of the German-speaking area, but also in the very heart of Germany and of the Reformation—in Saxony, Thuringia, and Hesse. From this point of view the free imperial city of Frankfort was situated in the southern or southwestern part of an area which was likewise of great importance for early Anabaptism. It is clear that Frankfort, being located east of the Rhine and north of the Main, was first touched by the Middle German Anabaptists rather than the Swiss, Moravian, or Dutch Anabaptists. The history of the Anabaptists of Frankfort is therefore directly in the center of the history of the Hessian Anabaptists, who, to be sure, maintained active contacts in all directions.

Frankfort on the Main had since the Middle Ages been not only the border city between north and south and east and west, but had above all been the city of the trade fairs and—after the invention of printing in neighboring Mainz—the center of the German book trade. In the sixteenth century in particular Frankfort's greatness was based on its spring and fall fairs and the German book market. It is therefore not surprising that the first information about the Anabaptists in Frankfort concerns the sale and distribution of Anabaptist writings. On August 27, 1527, Dionysius Melander, pastor at Frank-

* Gerhard Hein, formerly pastor of the Mennonite Church at Sembach, Germany, is pastor of the Mennonite Church in Berlin and editor of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*.

1 Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer: IV. Band, Baden und Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951) 238.

fort from 1525 to 1535, reported to the City Council that the Anabaptists were selling books there.[2] The Anabaptists were expelled from the city.

At the end of 1527 a number of Anabaptists were summoned before the Council—"Steffan of the Nürnberg court, Lux Brun and Hans Adolf, furriers, also Hans of Siegen and Niclas Wiln." Although they did not admit being Anabaptists, there was no doubt reason for the suspicion and the serious warning, "If they did not desist, the Council would severely punish [i.e., pass a sentence of death] them."[3] In early 1528 Dionysius Melander in a letter to Capito in Strasbourg, confirmed the presence of Anabaptists in Frankfort.[4] On March 5, 1528, the Council issued an edict against the Anabaptists in Frankfort, which was proclaimed throughout the city, as it expressly named the various sections:

> Fur den Rhomer, bi sanct Leonhart auf dem kornmargt, fur sanct Katherin, fur sanct Martha, bi dem Lompenbron, zu Sachsenhausen, bi sanct Elizabeth und uf dem Frithoef.[5]

The edict against the Anabaptists reads as follows:

> The honorable Council of this city of Frankfort has considered out of manifold past misdeeds that have taken place in many villages and towns on account of Anabaptism that there is great cause for the fear that these same people and Anabaptists will also come here and keep themselves secret here, whereby many an honest man might be offended or misled. In order by all means to prevent this, the honorable Council wishes most faithfully to warn every citizen and inhabitant against such vermin, and herewith earnestly commands not knowingly to lodge or shelter the same Anabaptists. But if anyone, whoever he may be, transgresses against this edict, such the honorable Council will punish the Anabaptists, each according to seriousness and occasion, to such an extent that he will know henceforth to desist from this; accordingly let every man conduct himself.[6]

Christian Hege's assertion[7] that the edict of the Frankfort Council of March 25, 1528, was issued upon the instigation of the clergymen "Bernhard Algesheimer [also called Johann von Hohenstein] and Dionysius Melander," is not necessarily true, for in the old "Mayor Book" there is under the date of March 19, 1528, a note,

> When Dionysius Melander and Johannes Bernhardus, a preacher here, notified the friends on the Council concerning certain points, . . . Item, that there have recently been Anabaptists here. . . .[8]

2 G. Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte. Vierter Band, Wiedertäuferakten 1527-1626* (Marburg, 1951) p. 1; hereafter cited as *Hessen*

3 *Hessen*, p. 1

4 M. Krebs and J. Rott, *Strassburger Täuferakten* (Gütersloh, 1960) 144

5 *Hessen*, p. 2

6 *Hessen*, pp. 1-2

7 *Mennonitisches Lexikon* I, ed. Christian Neff and Christian Hege, p. 678, article "Frankfurt am Main"; hereafter cited as *ML*.

8 *Hessen*, p. 2

Hege also surmised that Dr. Gerhard Westerburg, who as early as May 17, 1525, had been expelled from Frankfort and was later baptized at Münster and is reported to have baptized many in Cologne, had connections with the Frankfort Anabaptists in 1527-1528. This surmise seems to me very questionable. The Hessian Anabaptist court records at any rate offer no information on Westerburg.

The man who gave Anabaptism its stamp in Hesse and probably also in Frankfort in so far as it established itself here, was very likely Melchior Rink of Hersfeld.[9] His principal concern was the refutation of infant baptism and—after the storms of the Peasants War, into which he was probably swept—the gathering of quiet disciples of Christ who proved their faith in life and in suffering. The first such group known was at Butzbach between Frankfort and Giessen, where the mayor and the Council in the summer of 1528 issued a serious warning against "corner preachers."[10] Melchior Rink was given an extensive hearing at Marburg in August 1528, after Philip of Hesse had summoned him for a personal interview. It was also due to Philip that Rink, as a heretic, did not lose his life in accord with the recent Edict of Speier. Between his various imprisonments Rink succeeded in winning new followers in Hesse, until he died in the prison at Bärbach in the Katzenellenbogen territory in 1551, all attempts to convert him having failed.

Individual Anabaptists and small Anabaptist groups continued to appear in Frankfort.[11] In September 1528 the city Council received information that some Anabaptists were reported in the city.[12] An imprisoned Anabaptist, Hans Duck, a dresser of white leather, was questioned on the rack and asked "what he had done at Worms." He was expelled for life from the city and territory of Frankfort.[13] Several years later, on April 14, 1534, the Anabaptist Johann Mettlinger was threatened with expulsion from Frankfort.[14] Around 1538 Peter Tesch, an Anabaptist from farther north, was attending the fair at Frankfort; but about this time he returned to the established church and was henceforth active in converting Anabaptists.[15]

The Frankfort fair was obviously for decades a favorite meeting-place of Anabaptists from far and near. In 1544, for example, Endres

9 Paul Schowalter, "Melchior Rink," *ML* III, 515 f.

10 *Hessen*, p. 2 f.

11 Contrary to Hege's assertion that fater the edict of March 25, 1528, the Anabaptist movement was permanently suppressed in Frankfort (*ML* I, 678).

12 *Hessen*, p. 16

13 *Hessen*, pp. 16 f.

14 *Hessen*, p. 78

15 *Hessen*, p. 161

Nef was sent from Cannstadt "to Frankfort to the Anabaptists";[16] there he is reported to have "bought his books, and gone with them to Worms, Mainz, and other places and sold them again, and also brought such to Cannstadt." About 1565 Guy de Brez, the leader of the Reformation in the southern Netherlands, claimed to have disputed with the Anabaptists at Frankfort on the Main.[17] Martin Richter, an Anabaptist of Kassel, confessed that he had six months previously met at Frankfort a Dutch peddler by the name of Dietrich, "who gave him instructions to come to this knowledge." To be sure, he did not confess "that he knew of any conventicles that might be held by the Anabaptists in this area, but at the Frankfort fair such people often met."[18] On February 5, 1577, Hans Pauli Kuchenbecker, of Hatzbach near Marbach, the elder of the Swiss Brethren in Hesse, was asked whether he knew Martin Richter. He replied that "he knew him from this fact that the same had come to him a year before in Frankfort and reported that he heard that he [Kuchenbecker] was an Anabaptist."[19] When asked about Anabaptist meetings in Hesse, Kuchenbecker replied:

> He held no meetings and had no brethren in the land of Hesse but two, who lived in the Mainz area and not in Hesse. He belonged to the small group, did not want to be in the large group, for the way of salvation is narrow, but the one to damnation is broad, and there are many that walk thereon.[20]

The interest of the city of Frankfort on the Main in early Anabaptism is demonstrated by an early collection of the writings in the library of the city and the university which have to do with baptism. A. Goertz, of Frankfort, published a list of these writings in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter*,[21] including a writing by Melchior Rink, probably hitherto unknown, "Refutation of a Writing Which Johannes Bader, Pastor in Landau, Has Recently Done, to Preserve Infant Baptism as Christian."

Frankfort on the Main was therefore—it is safe to conclude—not an unimportant meeting place for the Anabaptists from the North and the South in the sixteenth century. To be sure, there were always "very few," as Kuchenbecker confessed, "but if one met another, they spoke to one another about their faith; otherwise they had no sermon or meetings."[22] Not until three and one half centuries later was a Mennonite congregation to be established in Frankfort on the Main.

16 Gustav Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer: Band I, Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930) 95
17 *ML* I, 269
18 *Hessen*, p. 383
19 *Hessen*, p. 386
20 *Hessen*, p. 386
21 Vol. XV, No. 10, 1958, pp. 48 f.
22 *Hessen*, p. 387

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND RESEARCH NOTES

Remarkable Interdependencies Between Certain Anabaptist Doctrinal Writings

As a recent comment in this journal points out, the time *post 1533* is the most neglected in sixteenth century Anabaptist history and needs further study.[1] While the faith of the early Anabaptists has been extensively studied, the problem of possible changes or shifts in emphasis in Anabaptist belief during the later decades of the century still awaits thorough consideration. One may therefore legitimately raise the question whether the Anabaptists of 1600 adhered to the same tenets as their ancestors had three generations earlier, or whether decades of persecution and a changed theological scene produced a new type of Anabaptism? These very significant questions have received little attention in recent scholarship;[2] there has been a tendency to lump together testimonies and Anabaptist confessions from various periods of the sixteenth century.[3] That this raises serious questions of methodology seems clear. The following comments may throw some light on this problem by way of tracing some remarkable dependencies between an Anabaptist document of the end of the century and earlier Anabaptist doctrinal writings.

Among the recently discovered Anabaptist documents is a commentary on the thirteen propositions of the famous Frankenthal disputation of 1571.[4] The protocol of this "most important"[5] but essentially fruitless disputation between the Reformation and Anabaptism in the sixteenth century was published three times. A Dutch and a German edition appeared simultaneously immediately after the *Gespräch*. Two years later the German edition was reprinted.[6] Doubtless this published report was officially thought of as a propaganda instrument against the Anabaptists and Mennonites. Aside from the very fact of publication itself, the unequal distribution of space between the Reformed spokesmen and the Anabaptists in the *Protocoll* is suggestive of this propaganda element. While the Anabaptists' statements are often compressed into a few lines, the Reformers elaborate their points copiously page after page.

One may assume that a widespread use of this *Protocoll* against Anabaptists prompted a desire on their part to compile an Anabaptist reply. The fact that this was undertaken almost twenty years after the disputation is somewhat unusual, but does not require special explanation. It is possible that in the interval a renewed attempt had been made by the authorities to win over the heretical Anabaptists. The Anabaptist reply has the following title: "Eine kurtze einfaltige erkanntnuss vff die dry zehen artikell so verlouffens 1572. Jars zu Franckenthal In dr pfaltz disputiert worden . . . zuschreiben angefangen Sambstag den 6. tag Jenners dess Newen Kalenders Im 1590. Jar."[7]

What makes the commentary especially noteworthy in our context

1 Harold S. Bender's review of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz. Erster Band Zürich, MQR* XXXII (1958) 245.

2 An exception to be noted here is Orley Swartzentruber, "The Piety and Theology of the Anabaptist Martyrs in van Bragh't's *Martyrs' Mirror*," *MQR* XXVII (1954).

3 This is the case in Franklin H. Littell's excellent study on *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (New York, 1952). Cf. 110 (ex 1590) and p. 65 (*ex* 1527).

4 Cf. Gerhard Greulich, *Das Religionsgespräch mit den Täufern zu Frankenthal 1571* (Theol. Diss. Heidelberg, 1953).

5 "Frankenthal Disputation," *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, II, 373.

6 *Protocoll, Das ist Alle handlung des gesprechs zu Frankenthal in der Churfurstlichen Pfaltz, mit denen so man Widertauffer nennet* (Heidelberg 1571, 1573; Dutch translation 1571)

7 Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland, Codex 628. Cf. H. S. Bender, "New Discoveries of Important 16th Century Anabaptist Codices," *MQR* XXX (1956) 77. The year 1572 in the title is of course incorrect.

are some striking similarities between this document and various earlier Anabaptist doctrinal writings. While the comparison suggested here deals exclusively with only two of the original thirteen propositions of the Frankenthal disputation—the oath and the magistracy, it should be kept in mind that these two points are particularly significant, as the conflict between Anabaptism and the established order found its most striking expression here.

The *erkanntnuss* shows verbatim parallels with two other Anabaptist confessions: the Schleitheim Confession of 1527[8] and the Hutterite *Fünff Artickel darumb der grösst Streit ist . . .*,[9] of 1547.

A few examples follow:

Erkanntnuss, p. 122

Christus leert die seinen bätten, vergib vnns vnser schuld, so müssend ie die Christen keine raach üben, dann so einer das vnbill vnnd vbell bezallt mitt raach vnnd schwärt, todtschlagen vnd gfengknuss, der wirtt Jm vatter vnnsser eben bätten, als wann er spräch, wie ich meinem bruder vnnd nechsten gethan hab, also thue mir Gott ouch.

Fünff Artickel, p. 300

Christus leernt die seinigen beeten, Vergib vns vnser schuld, wie auch wir vergeben vnseren schuldnern. So müessen ye die Christen kein Rach füeren. Denn so einer das vnbill vnd vbl bezalt mit raach, schwert, todtschlahen oder gefencknus, der wird im Vater vnser eben biten, alls wenn er spräch, wie ich meim Brueder vnnd Negsten gethon hab, Also thue mir Gott auch.

P. 123:

Sye er füert die Obrigkait vnd herren der wält in, vnd spricht mitt klaren worten, also soll es nitt sein vnder euch. Er redt ouch nitt allein zu den zwölfen, sonder zu einem yettlichen Christen vnnd glid seiner kirchen.

P. 302:

Sich er füert die Obrigkait vnd Herren der wellt ein, vnd spricht drucken, Also soll es nit sein vnder euch. Er redt es auch nit allein zu den Zwölffen, sonnder zu eim Yeden Christen vnd glid seiner Kirchen.

P. 125:

vnd Petrus ein probstuch thun volt, seinen herren vnnd meister zubschirmen, vnd mitt seinem schwertt dess hohenpriesters knecht ein Ohr abheüwe. . . . Mitt wellichen worten er vor seinem tod gantz abstett, vnd bey den sinen, als bey denen das schwert vnd rach nitt statt soll habenn.

P. 302:

Wie sie Christum fiengen Petrus ein Schwert het zu Im genumen vnd schlueg des Hohenpriesters Knecht ein Or ab . . . . Mit welchem er es ganntz abstellet vnd bej den seinigen (als bej denen des Schwerts Ort nit ist) hingelegt habe will.

8 The text used here is that of the edition of Beatrice Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis* (Thayngen, 1951). It has escaped the attention of Anabaptist scholarship that there are ample traces of the Schleitheim Confession in various documents aside from the five published editions between 1533 and 1565: the confession of the Anabaptist Jörg Süss, *ex* 1589, contains a lengthy quotation from Schleitheim (cf. *TA Baden,* 210), as does also the "Rechenschaft und bekantnus des gloubens deren brüeder," *ex* 1539, in Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) 190 ff. The Anabaptist *Handbüchlein wider den Prozess zu Worms* of 1558, an answer to various charges by Melanchthon, also quotes extensively from Schleitheim.

9 *Die Aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. A. J. F. Zieglschmid (1943) 269-315. Robert Friedmann has thoroughly analyzed this confession. Cf. "Eine dogmatische Hauptschrift der hutterischen Täufergemeinschaft in Mähren," in *ARG,* 28 (1931), 29 (1932). Friedmann identified Peter Walpot as the author and 1545 as the possible date. In the section entitled *Nachwirkungen* he refers to *Auszüg* without identifying them.

P. 129:

also leerend die apostell vol flyssig, das die Christen der Oberkaitt sollend vnderthon sin, aber nitt das sy das wältlich schwärt selber füren söllind, dann was gand mich die dussen an.

P. 304:

Also leernen die Aposteln wol vleissig, das die Christen der Obrigkaitt sollen vnderthon sein, Aber nit das sie Obrigkeit sein sollen oder mögen. Dann was gon mich die daussen an.

P. 132:

Vnser vill vnnd sinn aber ist nitt, wie gemelt, ein wältliche Oberhait abzuthun, oder ier nitt gehorsam zusin jm guten vnd billichen sachen, denn ein Oberkeytt soll vnnd muss sein in der wält vnder den menschenn, so vol als täglich brot, vnd so vol als ein schulmeyster die Ruten muss haben by den kindern, diewyl sich der grosse huff diser welt Gottes wort nitt ziehen vnd regieren will lassen, so muss das schwärt ziehen vnnd regieren . . . sonst wär niemand sicher vor dem anderen, sonder die Erden mitt blut überschüttet . . . dann ist die Oberkeitt ein ordnung Gottes, die wir ouch billich von ampts wegen gern[10] in Ehren halten vollend, Jnen liebs vnd guts bewysen, ouch Inen in allem, was nitt wider Gott ist, gern vnderthenig. . . .

P. 307

Vnser will vnd Sinn aber ist nit, ein weltlich Obrigkait abzuthun, Oder ir nit gehorsam zu sein im gueten vnd billichen. Dann ein Obrigkait soll vnd muess sein in der welt vnder den menschen so wol als das täglich Brot vnd so wol als ein Schuelmeister die rueten muess haben bey den Kindern. Denn weil sich der gross hauff diser welt Gottes wort nit ziehen vnd regieren last, so muess sie das Schwert ziehen vnd regieren . . . sonst wer niemand sicher vor dem andern sonder die erden mit bluet vberschütt. Darumb ist die Obrigkait ein Ordnung Gottes, dj wir auch billich von Ampts wegen inn eeren haben, inen liebs vnd guets beweisen auch Ir vnderthenig sein.

P. 160:

Christus aber, der die volkomenheitt dess gsatzes leeret verbiet den seinen alles schweren, wie gehört, weder recht noch falsch, weder beim himell, noch by der Erden . . . vnd das vmb der vrsach willen wie oben gemeldet, dann du vermagst nitt ein einzig hara wyss oder schwartz zu machen, desshalben ist den Christen alles schweeren verbotten. dann wir mogend nitt, das in dem schweeren verheissen wirtt erstatten, diewyl wir das aller geringst an uns nitt vermögend anderen. Nun sagend aber ettlich, die dem einfahen gebott Gottes nitt glouben gebend, sy nun hatt Gott dem abraham geschworen . . . dar-

Schleitheim, p. 16:

Christus, der die volkumenheit des gsatz lert, der verbüt den synen alles schweeren, weder recht noch falsch, weder by dem himmel noch by dem erterich, noch by Ierusalem noch by unserem houpt, und das um der ursach willen, wie er hernach spricht. Dan ir moegen nit ein har wiss oder schwartz machen. Sechend zu, sarum ist alles schweren verbotten, dann wir moegen n&t erstaten, das in dem schweren verheissen wirt, die mit wir das aller minst an uns nit moegen enderen. Nun sind etliche, die dem einfaltigen bott gottes nit glouben, die sagen (und fragen) also: Nün hat gott dem Abraham geschworen

10 In the light of the insistence of the Reformers that the Anabaptist attitude toward governmental authority was a pronouncedly negative one, this positive affirmation is noteworthy. The commentary's addition of *gern* to the *Fünff Artickel* is likewise significant.

bey wir ouch zu merrken habend, das Gott gwalt hatt zuthun, das er vns verbüttet, dann es ist Im alles müglich.	durch sich selbs, wie wil er gott was. . . . Merck, den verstand dise gschrift: Gott hat gewalt zue tun das er dir verbütt. Dan es ist im alles möglich.

These examples will suffice to point out the close dependencies between the commentary and the other Anabaptist documents referred to. It therefore seems safe to assume that the third generation Anabaptists were familiar with some of the major doctrinal writings of earlier decades and felt that these still expressed best, in many instances, their own belief. Whether this use of earlier sources is indicative of a certain poverty of their own religious creativity poses another question. Its answer lies elsewhere.

Goshen College, Goshen Ind. HANS J. HILLERBRAND

AN INVITATION TO AN ANABAPTIST SERVICE IN STRASBOURG IN 1539

T. W. Röhrich ("Zur Geschichte der strassburgischen Wiedertäufer in den Jahren 1527 bis 1543," in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie,* 1860, p. 115) published an extract from the Strasbourg Vergichtbuch under date of May 29, 1539, giving information about Anabaptist meetings, and in an attached footnote published further a written invitation to an Anabaptist service, taken from the Strasbourg Archives (Argent. hist. eccles, I, fol. 308). These most interesting documents are here offered in translation.

"Ruprecht Schwarz of Mainz, a citizen here (= Strasbourg), was the Anabaptist Crier or Assembler (Büttel oder Zusammenberufer), says: "They assembled in Schwabenloch and behind the Guten Leuten, also on the Illkirchen Nachtweid and in the Siegelsheimer Wald. Says, the Swiss Brethren and the Hoffmannites were not united; the former were about 100, the latter not more than 5. They no longer attended the preaching [of the state church], because the preachers did not practice the ban, allowed good and bad to go, that is abominable."

Röhrich's footnote, attached to the word "Zusammenberufer," reads as follows: "Such an invitation to an Anabaptist meeting has been preserved. It reads:

'Grace and peace from God the Father through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

'Beloved Jacob and dear Elsbeth, I am letting you know that on the coming Tuesday (Zinstag) a meeting will be held at Schliken in the house where we were the last time. And don't come so late as the last time, and let the old man in Westhoffen also know. With this I commend you to God, peace be with you all who love God from the heart. Amen.' "

Goshen College HAROLD S. BENDER

God Uses Ink. By John A. Hostetler. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1958. Pp. 264, $2.75.

The occasion for the publishing of *God Uses Ink* is the golden anniversary of the founding of the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale, Pa., by the Mennonite Publication Board, incorporated on March 31, 1908. The author, along with John C. Wenger, at that time president of the Board, were assigned by the executive committee of the Board to the task of planning such an anniversary publication.

But the book is a good deal more than a history of the Mennonite Publishing House; it is in essence the story of (Old) Mennonite printing and publishing in America. Following a brief opening chapter on the scope and complexity of printing and publishing in America today, and the niche which the Publishing House occupies in it, the author begins at the beginning. The first Mennonite book to be printed in America is an English translation of the well-known Dordrecht Confession of 1632. It came from the press of Andrew Bradford of Philadelphia in 1727, under the title *The Christian Confession of Faith of the Harmless Christians, in the Netherlands Known by the Name of Mennonites.* It is much in demand today as an antiquarian book collector's item. However, the first original Mennonite book by an American Mennonite author is a defense of the Mennonite mode of baptism, a German book published by Henrich Funck in 1744, entitled *Ein Spiegel der Taufe.* Apparently there was some feeling that the Mennonite position should be defended against the zeal of the Dunker Brethren in the community. Strangely enough, it came from the press of the Germantown Dunker printer Christopher Sower, who, however, left his name off the title page.

The truly monumental printing endeavor of the colonial Mennonites, however, was that of the printing and publishing of the largest book produced in colonial America, *The Martyrs Mirror,* 1748-49. It was printed in German by the Ephrata Cloister Press. The book consists of 1582 pages and the edition was made up of 1300 copies. Henrich Funck again was the one who furnished the dynamic and guidance for this monumental endeavor. The immediate occasion seems to have been an effort to keep the nonresistant faith vital in the face of French and Indian War propaganda.

The second period of Mennonite publication in America, that between the American Revolutionary and Civil Wars, Dr. Hostetler finds rather sterile. There was some reprinting of old titles. This period marks the emergence of the "Singing School," and as a consequence there is a growing interest in music publication. Benjamin Eby (1785-1853) in Ontario, and Joseph Funk (1778-1862) in Virginia are the two names most prominent in Mennonite printing interests during this more or less unproductive period. The latter was particularly active in music publication and apparently his memory is still celebrated on festive occasions in "Singers' Glen" in the Shenandoah community.

The third period in the history of American Mennonite printing and publication begins at the time of the Civil War and runs to the time of the founding of the Mennonite Publishing House. It is dominated by the name of one man, John F. Funk (Mennonite publishers seem unable to get along without the Funks!) and his Mennonite Publishing Company. The story of Funk's boyhood in Pennsylvania, of his success in the lumber business in Chicago and of his conversion there and his early associations with D. L. Moody, and of his later moving to Elkhart, Indiana, and of

his tireless efforts and his phenomenal success in building up an enormous printing and publishing business there, of his later troubles and of the decline of his business just before the emergence of the work at Scottdale —all of this is too long a story to tell here. His great achievement, of course, was that of a church periodical, the *Herald of Truth,* published in both English and in German, from January 1, 1894, until April 9, 1908. It began as a monthly publication and ended as a weekly, and exerted an enormous influence upon the awakening church during the closing years of the century, when interest in missions, in education, and in publication revived. But this is only a very small part of the late Brother Funk's achievements. Besides numerous books and periodicals published by his company at Elkhart, he personally authored some 118 books on various doctrinal, inspirational, historical, and miscellaneous topics. Near the close of his active career there were various efforts to achieve a church-owned publishing business, which emerged in two short-lived companies: (1) The Mennonite Book and Tract Society, and (2) The Gospel Witness Company. These both merged their interests and assets with the newly-founded corporation in 1908.

The final chapter in the intriguing story of (Old) Mennonite printing and publishing in America is the story of the Publishing House at Scottdale, organized under a church-wide Board. The charter members are representatives from nine of the principal local conferences from Southwestern Pennsylvania to the Pacific Coast, the signers of the original Articles of Incorporation being J. S. Shoemaker of Freeport, Illinois, as President; Jonathan Kurtz of Ligonier, Indiana, as Vice-President, Samuel H. Miller of Shanesville, Ohio, as Secretary, and Abraham Metzler of Martinsburg, Pennsylvania, as Treasurer. Again the story of the growth, policies, the enormous outreach and scope of the work, the complexities of administration and operation of a modern printing and publishing house, the problems of public relations and of author-editor relationships is here presented. One hesitates to try to enumerate those whose blood, sweat, and tears have gone into this effort, and who are worthy of honorable mention. To avoid inconsistencies, perhaps only one should be mentioned, that is the name of Daniel Kauffman, whose editorship of the Gospel Herald from its origin in 1908 until 1943 is universally known and respected in (Old) Mennonite circles even today. He still has more books to his credit than does any other Mennonite author.

One of the excellent features of *God Uses Ink* is its excellent Appendices, including complete lists of publications from each of the Mennonite publication ventures discussed, complete annotated lists of periodicals, as well as important historical documents, articles of incorporation, and the like. There is also a complete list of all the employees of the Mennonite Publishing House from its origin in 1908 until 1957. There are in addition interesting illustrations, pictures of printing in the early days, and reproductions of early letterheads and editorial pages. Dr. Hostetler has packed his book with interesting and vital information of both historical and of contemporary interest on the problems and scope of Mennonite printing and publishing in today's world.

Goshen College S. A. YODER

The Fate of the Prussian Mennonites. By William I. Schreiber. The Goettingen Research Committee: Goettingen (Germany), 1955. Pp. 44.

This compact little booklet traces the history of the Mennonites of the Danzig-West Prussia area in the Vistula-Nogat area and the Königs-